

Challenger revives Westland memories

Thatcher accuses Heseltine of 'Labour policies'

By ROBIN OAKLEY AND PHILIP WEBSTER

MARGARET Thatcher today warns Conservative MPs that if they elect Michael Heseltine as their leader they will risk pulling the country down with "Labour" policies, destroying all that she has stood for.

As her challenger for the Tory crown intensified his campaign against her style of cabinet government by reviving memories of the Westland affair, Mrs Thatcher launched her most direct assault on the leadership credentials of the man trying to replace her.

In a weekend interview with the editor of *The Times*, Mrs Thatcher said of Mr Heseltine: "If you read Michael Heseltine's book, you'll find it's more akin to some of the Labour party policies: intervention, corporatism, everything that pulled us down. There is a fundamental difference on economics and there's no point in trying to hide it."

Mrs Thatcher hinted that it would be a cruel outcome if her party were to discard her this week after she had given it three election victories. She insisted that she had much more to do. "It's unfinished

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work. And it will be finished!" However, it has emerged that those closest to the prime minister are preparing to advise her to step down and leave the second round to others if she fails to secure the decisive endorsement of her parliamentary party.

Close confidants will tell her that she should not subject herself to the humiliation of possible defeat in a later round after so dominating British politics for the past decade.

With all the indications that tomorrow's vote could be much closer than was believed at the outset and with opinion polls underlining Mr Heseltine's claim to be able to save the next election for the Tories, Conservatives were turning their minds to the manoeuvring that will have to take place if Mrs Thatcher fails to secure a convincing victory in the first round.

John Major, the chancellor, is coming under pressure from a growing number of MPs to be ready to declare his candidacy in a second round if Mrs Thatcher bows out.

Douglas Hurd remains the leading contender to be the cabinet's unity candidate in a contest without Mrs Thatcher. However, Mr Major is also being supported by senior backbenchers who believe him to be "sounder" on Europe and who doubt Mr Hurd's economic credentials.

Mrs Thatcher, who arrived in Paris last night, will hear the results by telephone soon after 6.30pm tomorrow. Her ministerial colleagues are anxious she should not make any snap judgment then on her plans for the second round but should return to London for consultations on Wednesday.

Mr Heseltine, who yesterday promised "a new dimension, a new Tory face" and a new partnership with local government, also played the Westland card. In an

interview on BBC Television he claimed that he had warned Mrs Thatcher five weeks before his resignation in January 1986 that he would go if she did not allow him to put to the full cabinet his case for a European rescue of the ailing helicopter company. On the day of his walkout she had, he said, read to the cabinet the conclusions of a meeting and of a discussion that did not take place.

"They were already written before the meeting started. Mrs Thatcher was not prepared to allow my case to be put to the cabinet."

In her *Times* interview, Mrs Thatcher gave a different version. She said: "It was the path which he suddenly chose at a cabinet meeting. There was no need for it. The rest of the cabinet were completely united about what we should do ... We all agreed on one course of action, Michael wouldn't."

Government sources last night disputed Mr Heseltine's recollection of events, saying that there were no minutes of a meeting that did not take place. They blamed Mr Heseltine's walkout on his failure to persuade colleagues to accept his policy and on his refusal to accept as other ministers had done that all statements on the Westland issue should be cleared with the cabinet secretary.

The Heseltine camp was buoyed yesterday by universally favourable opinion polls and by backing from several newspapers. The challenger's supporters were cautiously optimistic of forcing the issue to a second ballot. Some of the most enthusiastic supporters outside his campaign team were talking of having 130 votes in the bag.

Denying claims by the Thatcher camp that they had the votes to see her through on the first ballot, Sir Peter Tapell, who seconded Mr Heseltine's challenge, reminded MPs that that was what was said by Mr Heath's team before Mrs Thatcher beat him on the first round in 1975.

Mr Heseltine's supporters brushed off suggestions last night that the Tory right would rebel against Mr Heseltine and force him to call an immediate general election. Theresa Gorman, MP for Billericay, said she would

be a "sounder" on Europe and who doubt Mr Hurd's economic credentials.

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introduction to his speech, he said: "John Major is a technical grasp combined with ease of manner. We are longing for a leader with ease of manner."

It was argued that Mr Major would be more attractive to the right because of his tougher stance on Europe and that Mr Hurd might be at a disadvantage because of his lack of experience in an economic ministry. Mr Major, at 47, would be able to present a fresher, more youthful image to the country. Mr Hurd is 60.

There is understood to be no formal deal between Mr Hurd and Mr Major over their intentions in what they consider to be the highly unlikely event of Mrs Thatcher not coming through on the first ballot. MPs assume that Mr Hurd and Mr Major would not stand against each other.

One senior minister said that was an "underground

reservoir" of support for Mr Major. A senior MP said:

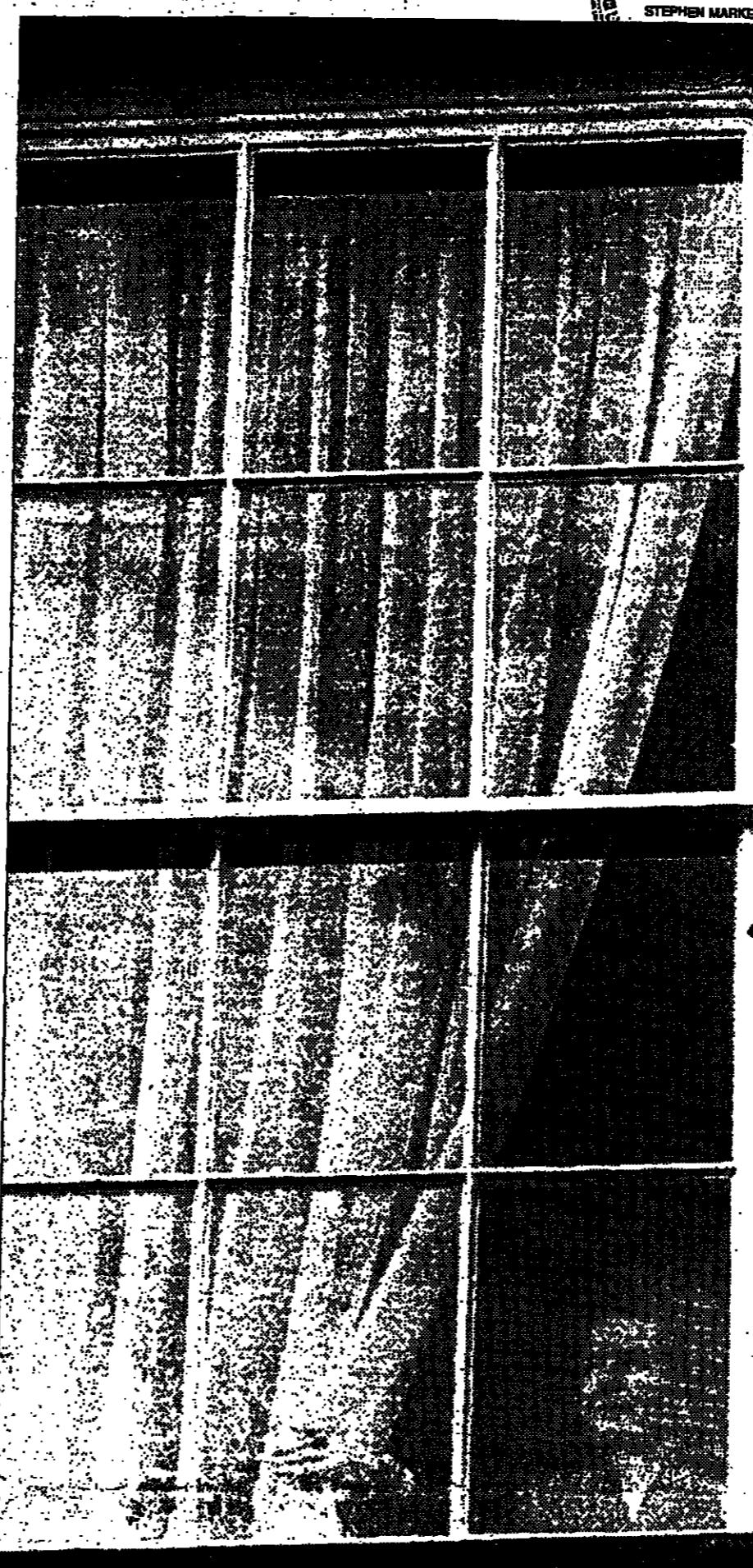
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Thatcher's castle: the prime minister prepares to defend her position in Downing Street

Gorbachev again invites the Pope

FROM PAUL BONPARD IN ROME

PRESIDENT Gorbachev met the Pope yesterday and renewed his invitation to the pontiff to visit the Soviet Union. Afterwards he said he hoped that their next meeting would be on Soviet soil.

His audience with the Pope came less than a year after their historic first meeting. But while in December 1989 Mr Gorbachev arrived in Rome as the star of press conferences, yesterday he came eager to enlist international support to help him cope with growing social and political unrest in the Soviet Union.

After signing the bilateral treaties with Italy, Mr Gorbachev described them as a step towards "a common European home, a Europe stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals".

During a nine-hour visit here he also met Italian pol-

Boy found after 8 weeks

BY MICHAEL HORNSHILL

SIMON Jones, the little boy who vanished from a park after a man offered him an ice-cream, was found alive and well yesterday, eight weeks to the day after his disappearance.

A man aged 25 was being interviewed by detectives last night after a huge manhunt which led them to a bedroom in a hotel for former prisoners and homeless men where Simon, aged four, was kept only half-a-mile from his home in Hemel Hempstead, Herts. Police went there after a tip-off from the manager and reunited Simon with his mother, Sally Jones, aged 32, who said: "This is the happiest day of my life. I've got my son back and I am over the moon to have him here with me."

Police said Simon was found in a happy mood and was in the room on his own. He underwent a medical examination before being re-united with his mother and grandparents, Stanley and Jean Stevens, but it is not yet known whether he was harmed during his ordeal.

It emerged that officers visited the private Victorian hostel in George Street only 10 days after the youngster's

Continued on page 26, col 1

France backs Bush in use of force against Iraq

From MICHAEL EVANS AND MICHAEL BINION IN PARIS

PRESIDENT Bush last night won the full support of France for military action to remove the Iraqis from Kuwait. Over dinner with President Mitterrand, Mr Bush was given assurance by the French leader, conveyed earlier by Roland Dumas, his foreign minister, that France would back a United Nations Security Council resolution, authorising the use of force in the Gulf.

The assurance seemed to imply that France, which has 5,500 ground troops in the frontline in Saudi Arabia, would take part in an offensive against the Iraqis with the Americans. There has recently been concern over whether France would take part in an offensive against Iraq.

The last batch will leave Iraqi territory on March 25, 1991, unless something disrupts the climate of peace," the Iraq News Agency said. (Reuters)

Security alert, page 9
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War in Gulf 'over in days'

By OUR FOREIGN STAFF

ANY war against President Saddam Hussein of Iraq could be over within days, according to Lieutenant-General Sir Peter de la Billière, commander of British forces in Saudi Arabia.

He told Saudi journalists that the forces arrayed against Iraq already enjoyed overwhelming air superiority and would soon have ground superiority along the whole Kuwaiti-border front. He was optimistic that allied casualties would not be unnecessarily high.

But some Western diplomats believe the morale of the Iraqi troops is higher than claimed by leading American and British officers.

Assault postponed: American and Saudi marines staged a mock assault on a Saudi beach south of Kuwait yesterday, but strong winds and rough seas forced the postponement of the amphibious-landing leg of the joint training exercise.

Chinook and Sea Knight helicopters ferried the marines to land from US amphibious assault ships about 25 miles offshore while warplanes flew mock assaults. (AFP)

Branson will bid for ITV



Richard Branson's Virgin group has recruited the help of Westinghouse, the American company, to prepare a bid for one of the 16 regional ITV franchises which will be auctioned next year. Mr Branson said the Thames and TV5 regions were obvious targets.

Page 25

Race law move

A proposal that a statutory prohibition on racial discrimination covering courts, the probation and prison services and police, should be included in the Criminal Justice Bill, is being backed by the Bar.

Bar... Page 4

Star role

National Astronomy Week starts today in the absence of an Astronomer Royal. The last incumbent, Sir Francis Graham-Smith, retired in September and the prime minister has not yet nominated a successor. Page 6

Frozen asset

The British Government hopes to play a leading role in the drawing up of a new agreement on the protection of Antarctica at a meeting of the parties to the 1961 Antarctic Treaty. Page 12

Kwai mass grave

Fifty skeletons found in a mass grave near the bridge on the Riv-Kwai, 80 miles from Bangkok, are thought to be of Asians forced to work on the Burma railway. Page 12

Cup hope

Last night's draw for the second round of the Cup means that two more football clubs are certain to go to the third round, which will be a tie against a divisional opposition. Page 12

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Cowabunga! Turtles to the Christmas rescue

BY GILLIAN BOWDITCH

THE streets of Brimley could be in the sun this Christmas, and only the Turd and a duck called Edd can rescue them. With the amount of goods sold expected to be 1.5 per cent over Christmas, the chain says it is racing for their most sales-like Christmas since the start of N.

Last night, there was a last-minute sales in the fortnight before Christmas, which saved shopkeepers' year, despite good-looking Christmas lights, the outlook is much more serious.

Richard Hym, of Verdict, the retail market research group, said: "We think the situation on the high street is worse than last year. Retailers are owing up to it. A 1 per cent fall in retail sales volumes in December is very

likely and it could be more." On average retailers double their profits during December, over those of most other months.

But for some, such as jewellers, department stores and electrical retailers, poor Christmas trading can turn a bad year into disaster. A spokeswoman for Argos said the group predicted the slowdown in the second half and reacted accordingly.

"Our northern stores are the first to react to Christmas and we are still waiting for them to come through. We are finding Teenage Mutant Hero Turtle goods very strong. Turtle costumes at £5.99 are just walking out of the shop. Barbie dolls and Batman are selling well, as is a soft toy called Edd the Duck."

Michael Pickard, chief executive of Sears, the chain which owns Selfridges, said the Gulf conflict and

political uncertainty are hurting consumer confidence. "It is early to say. We are not expecting any great bonanza and I imagine Christmas will be late again this year. Turtles are selling well as is anything a bit new or gimmicky".

Boots chief executive, Sir James Blyth, said Christmas would be a tough one for retailers but he expects Boots to take its fair share of the money available. Ian Hay Davison, chairman of Storhouse, the BHS chain, said: "Current political and economic uncertainties suggest that consumer confidence will remain subdued and the retail climate intensely difficult for some time ahead".

A spokesman for Marks & Spencer said the whole industry was having a tough time. Sales of homewares and tailored clothing are poor but lingerie, giftpacks and childrenswear are likely

to be best sellers this Christmas. A few groups are bucking the gloomy trend.

Gerald Ratner, chairman of the jewellery chain, Ratner, said sales so far this year are up on last. Ratner has launched a pre-Christmas sale and is spending more on advertising and incentives to sales staff.

Sales are still rising at Body Shop

and chairman Gordon Roddick is predicting a strong Christmas with sales in the UK shop currently running at 8 per cent ahead of last year.

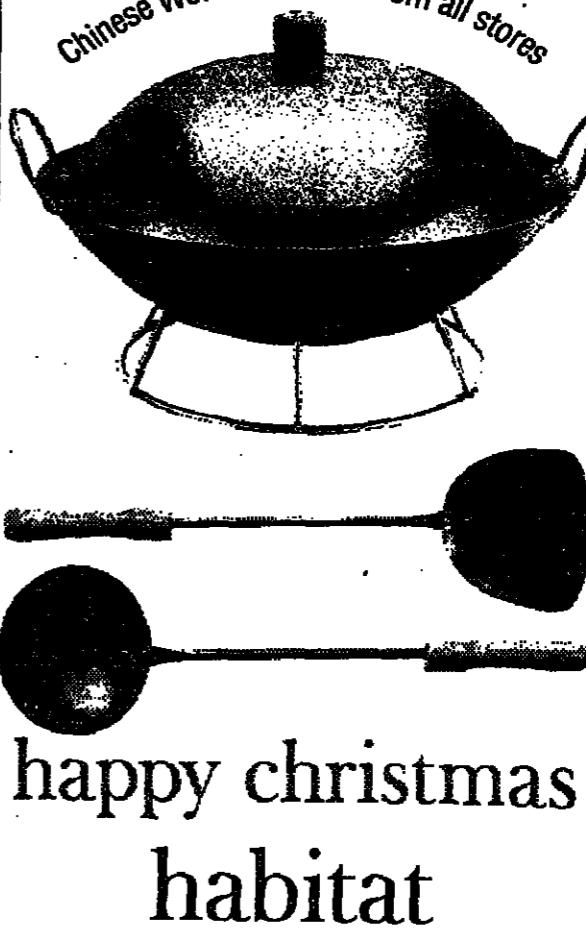
Stanley Kalms, chairman and chief executive of The Dixon Group is optimistic about Christmas trading which has begun promisingly.

"Computer games, Camcorders and televisions are all selling well. Computer games will be the big seller this Christmas".

Leading article, page 15

MORE WOK, LESS PAY.

Chinese Wok Set £12.75 from all stores



Bar moves to check race bias in courts and prisons

By FRANCES GIBB, LEGAL AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT

THE Bar is to press for a statutory prohibition outlawing racial discrimination in the criminal justice system to be included in the government's Criminal Justice Bill, which has its second reading tomorrow.

The new clause, proposed by the Commission for Racial Equality, would make discrimination unlawful on grounds of colour, race, nationality or ethnic origin and would cover judges, magistrates, court officials, the probation service, police and prison service.

If accepted, it would be the first statutory prohibition on racial discrimination to be applied to the criminal justice system. The Bar is seeking first the inclusion of a statutory principle enshrining the aims of non-discrimination and second, machinery to make such non-discrimination effective.

The move comes against a background of concern highlighted, in reports such as that by the Runnymede Trust, that offenders from the ethnic minorities are discriminated against. Another key change to the bill to be sought by penal affairs groups will be for the creation of a sentencing council and commission as part of the Court of Appeal.

There is widespread concern that if the Bill's aim to reduce the number of offenders sentenced to custody is to succeed, there must be a more co-ordinated, systematic framework for the issuing of

MPs weigh views from grassroots on party future

By NICHOLAS WATT, CRAIG SETON AND KERRY GILL

CONSERVATIVE MPs are this morning weighing up huge volumes of advice offered from two vital groups - their constituency parties, and their constituents.

During a hectic round of weekend social events, most MPs have had more than enough assistance in gauging grassroots opinion on the merits of the two candidates standing in the first ballot.

A Times national survey conducted at the weekend shows that Mrs Thatcher would have little to fear in tomorrow's election if party workers alone were voting. Most of them stressed her track record and determination.

Some MPs, however, were less impressed, occasionally admitting that they were privately intending to abstain or to vote for Mr Heseltine. One London backbencher professed support for the prime minister, but added that he had serious reservations about her. He found Mrs Thatcher's habit of referring to herself as "we" very annoying and complained she had become aloof, and never said hello to him. "Often great decisions are made on trivial things like that," he said.

MIDLANDS

A tide of support appeared to be running for Mrs Thatcher yesterday among party workers and grass roots supporters in Conservative seats in the Midlands. It emerged after MPs' weekend surgeries, party gatherings and straw polls conducted by officials. However, it was not a clean sweep.

In some seats an undercurrent of desire for change was apparent, and in two constituencies, MPs supporting Mr Heseltine were at odds with local officials. No constituency association among those asked publicly declared that it wanted Mr Heseltine as leader. Officials of 16 out of 19 associations in Conservative seats checked yesterday declared support for Mrs Thatcher. At least three MPs were apparently still undecided how to vote.

One contrary result was Mrs Thatcher's home town of Grantham, Lincolnshire, where a straw poll of party branches was said to show opinion three to one against both Mrs Thatcher and Mr Heseltine and desire for a new leader to emerge from a second ballot, without a preference being expressed.

At Blaby, Leicestershire, the MP, Nigel Lawson, met Ian McAlpine, constituency party chairman, last night to discuss local feeling, which is said to show particular concern about the poll tax. Mr McAlpine said that a vote for Mr Heseltine in the first ballot might shake a "third party out of the buss".

He added: "The MP has expressed a slight leaning in one direction, but you had better ask him what it is. We are not supporting Mrs Thatcher unless she changes her ways, but nor are we enchanted with Mr Heseltine as a successor."

At Bosworth, Leicestershire, views of party members were said to be 75 per cent for Mrs Thatcher. The MP, David Tredinnick, has told officials he will support her.

NORTH WEST

Mr Heseltine's success as "Minister for Merseyside" after the 1981 Toxteth riots won him a special place in the affections of local Conservatives.

But for most grass-roots Tories that popularity seems to have evaporated. Liverpool councillor John Backhouse said he expected Mrs Thatcher to lead the party into the next election, and said of Mr Heseltine's challenge: "It's hardly unexpected. It is some-

thing the challenger has always wanted to do."

North West area Conservative Trade Unionists leader Daniel Dougherty said: "I used to like Mr Heseltine a lot, but I think what he has done is disgraceful and disloyal. He should think of the damage he is doing."

SCOTLAND

Conservatives in Scotland were divided over the leadership election, though most were in favour of Mrs Thatcher.

Mr Heseltine was described as "the right man at the wrong time" by Struan Stevenson, Conservative prospective parliamentary candidate for Edinburgh South.

"I would have seen Heseltine as the prime minister's natural successor, but perhaps he has lost his will. He should have waited for

us to get her out. She has got rid of all the big men and she has been left with a bunch of wimples. We would do better under Michael Heseltine."

The Welsh Conservative Candidates Group, which conducted a poll among 4,578 party members, found that 69.5 per cent supported Mrs Thatcher and only 30.4 per cent supported Michael Heseltine.

EAST ANGLIA

Some MPs will be listening to the arguments until the end. Robin Baldry, party organiser in Ipswich, where Michael Irvine has a slender majority of 874, said after a constituency party meeting: "There was a great deal of argument on both sides but nobody came out on top. We have had it up to the MP to make up his own mind and I think people will be listening to the arguments until the last minute."

SOUTH WEST

In Chris Patten's constituency of Bath, where the introduction of the Uniform Business Rate has led to a campaign against him, Mrs Thatcher can, surprisingly perhaps, count on across-the-board grassroots support.

Richard Hall, chairman of the Bath Conservative association, said: "There is an extremely strong sense of loyalty towards the prime minister and I think she will win. There are doubts about Mr Heseltine's chances although there is a lot of respect for Douglas Hurd."

All Gait, chairman of the Wednesbury Conservative association in Avon, strongly supported Mrs Thatcher's stance on Europe. He said: "Margaret has done more for Europe than any other European political leader. Britain has done more to get the European economy going than any other statesman - like Delors, who is basically an attempted but failed prime minister."

But Mary Crane, Conservative county councillor for Wolverhampton, said: "I certainly think Mr Heseltine could rally the party. It is in a bit of a middle at the moment and we need to sort ourselves out."

HOME COUNTIES

Tories in the true-blue heartland are also split over the future of the party. Norman Best, a Hampshire county councillor, said he was staunchly behind Margaret Thatcher. "She is the best peacetime prime minister this country has had this century. I am in no doubt that she should win and I hope that our MPs will think likewise."

But he said that Mr Heseltine's plans to change the poll tax may influence MPs defending marginal seats.

NORTH EAST

He is particularly annoyed at Mr Heseltine's remarks about a poll tax revision after Scottish Tories had spent so long trying to persuade the public that the tax was the only alternative to the rates.

Mr Heseltine has a reluctant supporter in Frank Spencer Nairn, former chairman of the Ross, Cromarty and Skye constituency party. He said he had difficulty with the "three Hs" factor. Her, Hurd and Heseltine. They were all capable of leading the country. But if he had a vote he would go for Mr Heseltine.

WALES In Wales, opinion on the leadership race was split.

Bill Hardinge, a retired company director from Llansyne in Cardiff, said that the Conservatives stood as much chance with Mrs Thatcher as with anyone else.

However, Bob McKay, an engineering company director from Swansea, said: "It's time

Mrs Thatcher to resign in the normal course of events."

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When marginal interests may put an MP's future at risk

FOR any holder of a Conservative marginal seat, making the wrong decision on Tuesday could mean continuing the diet rich in rhetoric of the average MP, or returning to one which involves a certain amount of humble pie under the gaze of constituency chairmen on the reselection trail.

Humphrey Malins, who holds the Tory marginal seat of Croydon North West, is among those who face that choice, although his weekend diet included the inevitable home-made chocolate cake at his constituency's Christmas bazaar as he consulted on how to vote on Tuesday.

He has decided to back Mrs Thatcher after taking soundings from the ward chairmen and from talking to people in the street. "The local party has split four to one in her favour and I've met 200 people who support Mrs Thatcher," he said. Croydon North West was

snatched from the Conservatives by Bill Pitt, the Alliance candidate, in the 1981 by-election, so Mr Malins knows how vulnerable the seat is.

He was told by one constituent that Michael Heseltine would provide the best chance of retaining the seat, his adviser taking the view that if Mr Heseltine was capable of making a lot of money, then he should be able to do the same for the country.

To other members of the constituency association, however, Mr Heseltine lacked judgment. Tony Whiting, chairman of the Beulah ward, said: "He's not very steady. He got upset on the dubious matter of Europe and you just can't afford to have a leader who gets upset."

Stephen Stewart, president of the local party, said that he would be sad to see the prime minister go. "She is a lady who

Mates is strongly criticised over his campaign

By DAVID YOUNG

MICHAEL MATES, the Conservative MP for East Hampshire, has been severely criticised by a handful of members within his constituency association for becoming Michael Heseltine's campaign manager.

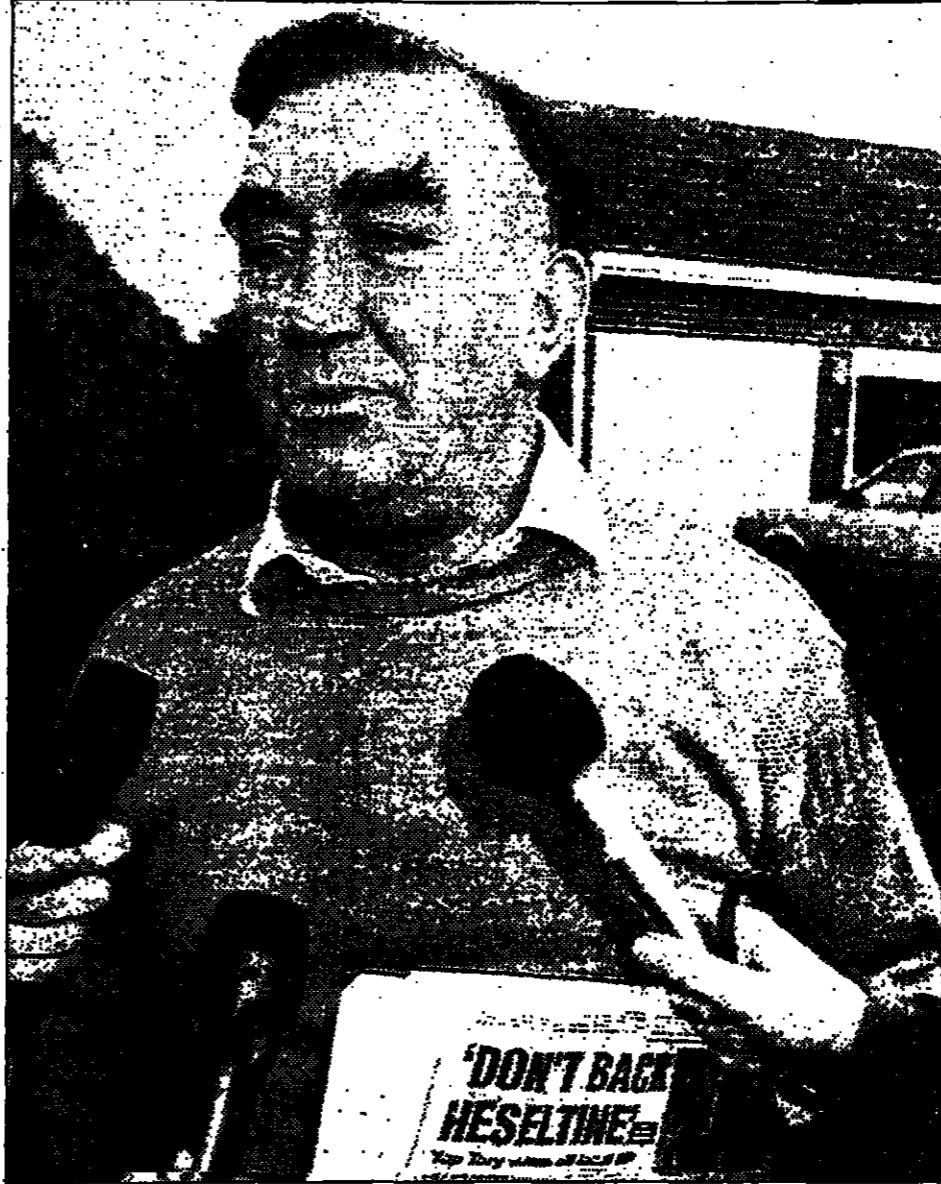
He is the latest pro-Heseltine MP to face such criticism for declaring opposition to Margaret Thatcher, a development that has led to suggestions that Conservative Central Office is pressuring officers of local associations to support the prime minister.

The 25 chairman of the local area Conservative groups within the East Hampshire constituency association met their MP yesterday at the home of David Wilson, the constituency treasurer.

Mr Mates' high-profile role in support of Mr Heseltine was the only item on the agenda and drew strong criticism. After the two-hour meeting Mr Mates said that the prospect of his deselection had not been discussed.

He said: "I cannot tell you what went on because it was the decision of everyone that it should be private. It was a good-natured meeting of good-natured people at which there was an expression of views. After it I still support Michael Heseltine."

Michael Turner-Bridges, the association's chairman, who had earlier criticised Mr Heseltine's challenge as divisive, said: "I sincerely hope Mrs Thatcher wins." But Sir Neil Macfarlane, one of Mr Heseltine's two sponsors, has been criticised by voters in his Sutton and Cheam constituency. A spokesman said that the local party was wholeheartedly behind Mrs Thatcher. Tony Marlow, MP for Northampton North, is also facing calls for his deselection after making a public declaration against the prime minister.



No turning back: Michael Mates reaffirms his support for Mr Heseltine yesterday

threatened with deselection by his local constituency association and has been told to express his views in this way."

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Thatcher returns to idea of vote on currency

By ROBIN OAKLEY
POLITICAL EDITOR

MARGARET THATCHER is warming to the idea of a national referendum on whether Britain should accept the imposition of a single European currency.

Twice in parliamentary answers recently and again in weekend interviews she has suggested that the replacement for a national currency "will be a matter for both parliament and people". The matter, however, has not been discussed in cabinet.

When she first told MPs, reporting on the Rome summit, that it would be for the people to make the choice on a single currency, Downing Street was reluctant to endorse that as a hint of a referendum.

Since then, Mrs Thatcher has become more explicit. She told the Sunday Telegraph this weekend: "I would not rule out a referendum. My views on referendums are really quite simple. I think you should only hold them on constitutional issues."

Mrs Thatcher told MPs on October 30 that the pound was "the greatest expression of sovereignty". She and some ministers have argued that there cannot be a single currency for long without moving to a single government.

To Mrs Thatcher the single currency is a constitutional question. Clearly, she is moving to a position of declaring that any attempt to impose a single currency would amount to a breach of the conditions on which Britain was led to accept EC membership and that the matter is, therefore, one for public consultation.

A conductor of passion and compassion.

Many musicians consider Maestro Lorin Maazel to be the finest orchestral conductor since Toscanini. The comparison is significant, both musically and historically. For it was Toscanini who, in 1941, invited the 11-year-old Lorin to conduct the legendary NBC Symphony.

Today Lorin Maazel enjoys the admiration and affection of music-lovers the world over. Blessed with absolute pitch and an awesome memory, he has mastered virtually the entire classical symphony repertoire. He was the very first American to conduct Wagner at Bayreuth and Mozart at Salzburg. Since then he has conducted some

4,000 concerts around the globe and recorded 275 titles. His dedication to broadening the appeal of classical music through television has endeared him to a vast new audience of music fans.

With it all, Maazel retains a boyish sense of humour. He has written, for example, an award-winning comedy film, *A Week in the Life of a Conductor*, a parody of popular misconceptions.

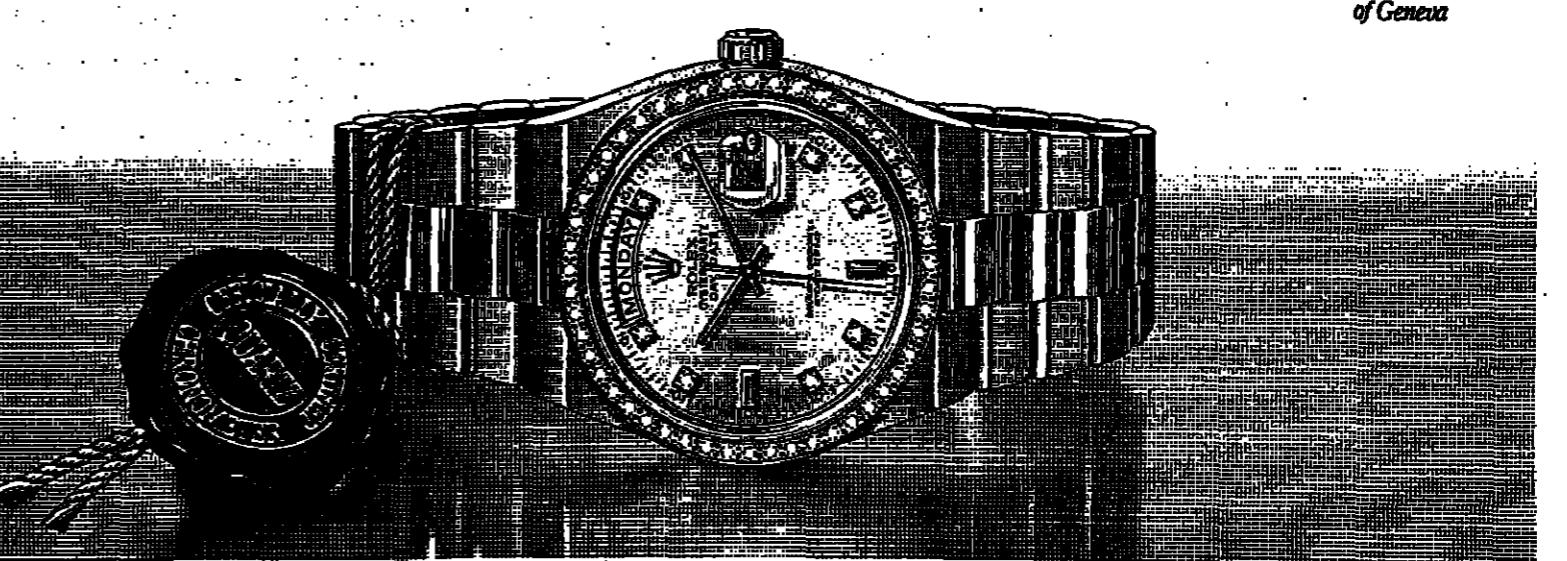
But the man who refuses to be stuffy about his profession is most serious about his music. "There is no music without life, no life without passion, no passion without compassion," he says. "A performance must be like life itself."

Maazel realises his passionate beliefs in compassionate actions. Thus, most recently, his globally televised CLASSIC-AID concert raised millions of dollars for the hungry.

Perhaps unwittingly, Maestro Maazel paid Rolex the greatest possible compliment when he stated, quite simply, "I have always worn a Rolex". For this is a man who has known since boyhood exactly what he wanted. His career has justified that early decision brilliantly.

And we are content that he also decided - years ago - that Rolex was his watch.


ROLEX
of Geneva



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Hull backs troubled government policy to renovate housing

By DOUGLAS BROOM, LOCAL GOVERNMENT CORRESPONDENT

MINISTERS have agreed to help a Labour council to buy back its municipal housing as part of a package to salvage the government's controversial policy of creating action trusts to renovate public housing.

Hull city council has become the first local authority in Britain to agree to promote a housing action trust to renovate its own housing stock. All previous attempts by the government to set up similar trusts have failed.

The council will hand over 2,000 pre-war council houses to a government-appointed trust, which will receive £50 million from the environment department to renovate them.

What makes the deal unique is the government's decision to give the council capital allocations, a mixture of grant and permission to borrow, so that it can buy back individual houses after renovation. A housing action trust can be set up only if the majority of the tenants vote for the scheme.

The government has in-

sisted until now that councils will not be allowed to regain control of homes renovated by action trusts. This has been a big stumbling block and led to intense opposition from Labour councils, so that plans to set up trusts in Sunderland and Southwark, south London, were defeated.

The environment department has decided that once work is complete tenants in Hull will be allowed to opt back into local council control. They will also be offered the chance to opt for a private landlord, to set up a tenants' association to manage all or part of the estate or to buy their renovated homes.

Up to £20,000 will be spent on each house if tenants vote for the action trust plan. Work will include the installation of central heating, double glazing, new toilets, bathrooms and kitchens and the replacement of roofs.

The council has already renovated 1,800 of the 3,800 homes on the north Hull estate, where the trust will be established. One of the houses

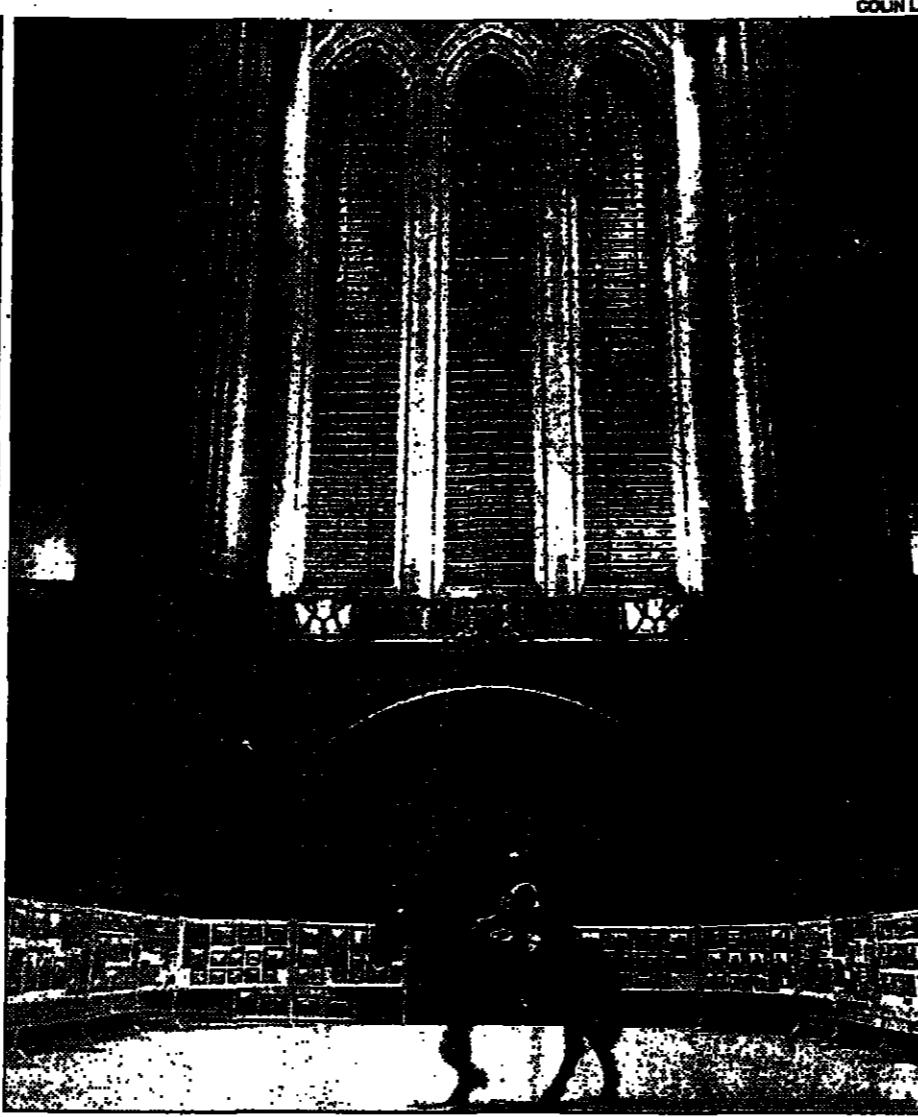
will become a show home to demonstrate the benefits of the project.

John Black, chairman of the council's housing committee, said: "Naturally we would have liked to have carried out improvements to the properties ourselves, but there was little prospect of the money which would be needed being available within the next 20 or 30 years."

"Until now we have been able to improve fewer than 100 properties a year and this number could fall as further budgeting restrictions are imposed by the government."

Pat Doyle, Labour leader of the council, said: "It provides much-needed capital for renovation of the houses, which would not have been available to us from any other source. It will mean millions of pounds being injected into the local economy, which will be good for the local building industry and good for jobs."

The environment department said tenants would decide the final form that the action trust plan would take.



Stanley, a bay gelding, rehearsing with trainer Bill Beeley for his part in T.S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*, to be staged at Liverpool cathedral this month

Long arm of the insider dealing investigators

A prosecution that arose from a chat after church has thrown light on the increased powers of the Stock Exchange team working to stamp out insider dealing. Ray Clancy writes

IT STARTED with a seemingly innocent conversation after church and ended with the International Stock Exchange's first prosecution under new powers that became effective in February. The conviction of two brothers at Taunton magistrates' court for insider dealing heralded a new era whereby clear-cut cases can be dealt with swiftly and effectively without the appointment of special inspectors.

John Lukins, a lay preacher in Somerset and sports editor of the *Western Gazette*, was leaving Milborne Port Christian Fellowship Church last July when a director of the leather firm Pittard Garner told him of an impending profits fall in the company, in which Mr Lukins held shares.

Mr Lukins told his brother, Peter, the holder of 5,000 shares, that he was going to sell his 3,000 shares. As a result, they both sold at 108p the day before the share fell to 77p. That transaction showed up as a dip on Stock Exchange



Feltham: "We act as a deterrent"

monitoring equipment, and was picked up by the Insider Dealing Group (IDG), a team of 17 on the lookout for illegal transactions.

A few days after the Lukins brothers sold their shares, Pittard Garner, one of only two British quoted leather companies, issued a warning that it would make a pre-tax loss of between £1 million and £1.5 million for the six months to June 30. Raw material problems and a collapse in the price of sheepskin pelts were blamed. Analysts had predicted pre-tax profit this year of £5 million.

The broker who sold the brothers' shares also alerted the IDG. The brothers at first denied but eventually admitted using unpublished price-sensitive information. John Lukins was fined £750 with £432 costs after admitting three charges under the Company Securities (Insider Dealing) Act. Peter Lukins, an engineer, was fined £500 with £290 costs after admitting two offences.

The Lukins were described as small fry, caught by a computer noting an unusual volume of trading.

sophisticated deal. The IDG admits that more organised individuals working on a nod, a wink and a well-timed lunch can pass information to each other that is beyond detection by the surveillance system.

Nevertheless, the IDG believes that the system is very effective despite the low number of convictions. "We are not 100 per cent concerned with getting people to court," Mike Feltham, head of the IDG, said. "We act as a deterrent. Let's face it, if you had two bony blokes knocking on your door and asking complicated questions, you would be put off. We are constantly monitoring the markets, identifying those people involved and keeping an eye on them."

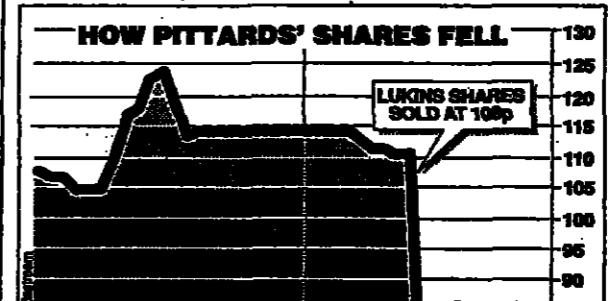
Mr Feltham's team is split into two — those monitoring and those who undertake the investigation and interviewing of suspects. Many of the latter are former policemen or have had investigative jobs. Those monitoring usually have a City background and know the sophisticated ways of insider dealers.

Insider dealing became a crime in Britain in 1980 and the IDG has built up an impressive database of every transaction since Big Bang in October 1986. Its Intelligence Database logs the results and background of every investigation. In an office on the 14th floor of the Stock Exchange tower, with panoramic views over the City, announcements of takeovers, issues and mergers are scrutinised, and investigators watch for unusual timings, unusual share price movements and unusual volumes of trading.

Between 600 and 900 deals are investigated every month, and, after voting, about 50 merit further investigation. Only a few turn into cases that are considered for prosecution. In the second quarter of this year, 39, or 1.7 per cent, of 2,247 initial enquiries warranted full investigation.

Most of the investigative work is done by the IDG, with complex cases being referred to the Department of Trade and Industry, which can appoint special inspectors with greater powers to gather evidence. The Lukins case was the first brought by the Stock Exchange without the use of inspectors, a process no longer necessary in simpler cases since February.

Statistics indicate that it is ordinary people rather than company directors and financiers who get involved in insider dealing. Of investigations by the IDG in April and June, 56 per cent involved members of the public, 13 per cent company directors, 11 per cent company employees, and the rest people in the financial services industry.



Stargazers celebrate without leading light

By STAFF REPORTERS

NATIONAL Astronomy Week, a celebration of British astronomy, starts today without an Astronomer Royal. Like Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark, the nation's astronomers will have to enjoy their programme of talks, exhibitions, competitions, star parties and public observing sessions without their titular head.

Sir Francis Graham-Smith, the previous incumbent, retired at the end of September and no replacement has been named. Sir Francis said: "I have placed the office as requested at the disposal of the prime minister and I don't know what she's done with it. Soundings are taken — it's like choosing an Archbishop of Canterbury or a Poet Laureate — but I've no idea on what timescale they intend to work."

Downing Street has confirmed that the post, estab-

lished in 1675, was a royal appointment made on the advice of the prime minister, but could give no guidance as to whether another appointment was imminent.

Sir Francis describes the official duties and financial rewards of the job as "zero and zero". He said: "I have a commission from Her Majesty which says that I am entitled to all the privileges of the office. The only thing is there aren't any."

"I have done a lot of things because of being Astronomer Royal, such as give talks, but they're not in any way duties attached to the office."

Most recently Sir Francis has opened a campaign against light pollution, the wasteful use of electricity for outdoor lighting that ruins the sky for observation. This campaign forms one of the principal themes of National Astronomy Week.

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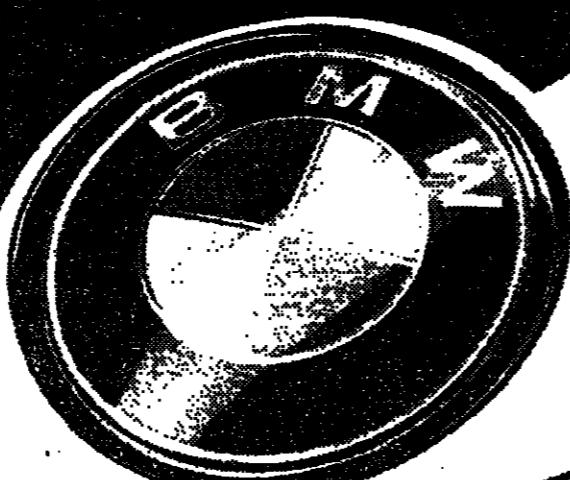
Morangie Hill, armed with an old 'mash sack which he fills with a quantity of peat, heather and herbs'. By boiling this fragrant concoction John can speedily coax any newcomer in the new copper and so ease the newcomer into its Relief of sweetening the existence of Malt lovers: EVERYWHERE.

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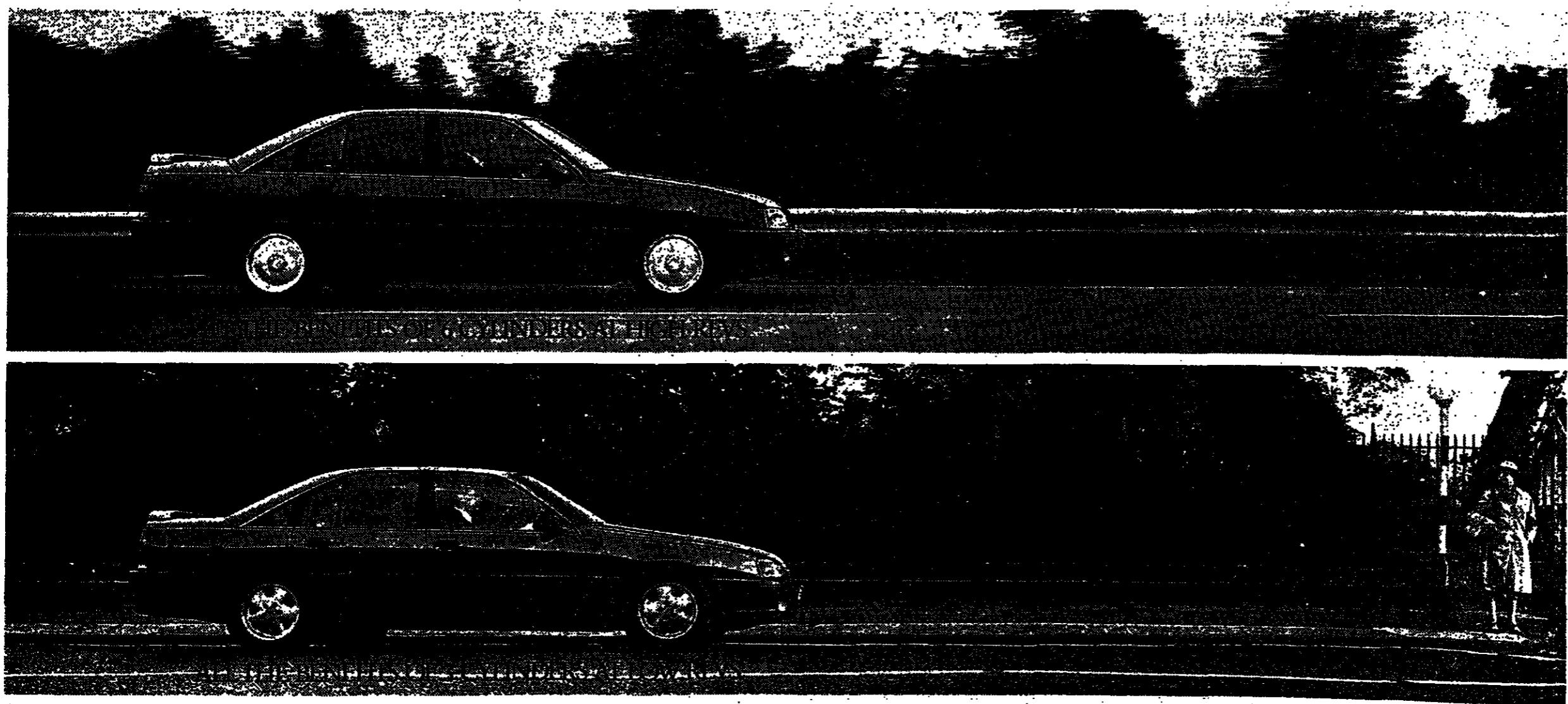
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للمزيد من المعلومات

Ancient harbour town ready to see off march of privatisation

MATTHEW FORD

A community of 3,000 on the north Cornish coast is campaigning against big-time developers. Michael Dynes reports on Padstow's attempts to keep the port public and preserve its hard-fought independence

ENTREPRENEURS scouring the coastline for rich pickings thrown up by the government's plans to privatise the trust ports would do well to think twice before trying to swallow up Padstow.

Located in idyllic surroundings on the north coast of Cornwall, Padstow is an ancient harbour town boasting a picturesque mixture of houses, quays, boat slips, beaches, restaurants and shops, which has fended off the worst ravages of developers.

Ambitious property speculators hoping to pick up where others have thought wise not to venture would find themselves facing a small, tightly knit community of 3,000 inhabitants who know how to dispose of intruders.

Having survived the Civil War as a Cornishian enclave surrounded by a sea of royalist fervour, Padstonians have gone on to avoid levying the poll tax, at least temporarily, and prevent construction of the ubiquitous seaside amusement arcade. However, plans to privatisate the trust ports, the 100 or so public-sector facilities that handle more than a third of Britain's trade, have become a source of acute anxiety.

Although the measure is voluntary, and aimed primarily at the top 20 trust ports, many locals fear it could become compulsory, rendering the port vulnerable to the proverbial city slicker.

John Hinchliffe, the new harbour master, is no novice when it comes to defending local interests against avaricious capitalists. As a former port director of Freeport, the Bahamas, the sunny retreat for shady people, he has a well developed sense of the potential dangers in store. However, he said: "We don't quite know what's out there. But we can hear the beast rummaging around in the undergrowth."

With a turnover of £400,000 on assets worth £4 million, Padstow is one of the smallest trust ports in Britain. In its heyday earlier this century, Padstow was a thriving West Coast trading and fishing port with a staggering 43 public houses. Changing patterns of trade, development of containers, and Dr Beeching's decision to close the local railway line in 1967 reduced the port to a shadow of its former self. In recent years, however, it has experienced a modest resurgence, and is now about to embark on a new era of balanced

growth in the trade and leisure sectors.

Having assiduously cultivated new markets exporting crab and lobster to France, the fishing vessels are slowly returning to the harbour. Small volumes of commercial traffic, principally fertiliser, grain and animal feed, have also been

developed, while the wide range of water sports is attracting more than 100,000 holiday-makers each summer.

Developers hoping to cash in on Padstow's prospects for growth would have to convince a majority of the ten port commissioners, who are responsible for

protecting the port's interests, of the case for privatisation. According to Mr Hinchliffe, any such attempt would effectively "divide the community in half, and create a potentially explosive situation".

Frank Tremayne Sloman, the chairman of the harbour commis-

sioners, who traces his local ancestry back to 1520, insists the commissioners have a statutory obligation to regulate navigation and monitor safety. Such responsibilities would be unlikely to be taken seriously by the private sector, he says.

Should the government decide

to make the trust ports legislation coercive, or if developers manage to seduce enough commissioners, Mr Hinchliffe believes Padstow might be forced to make the best of a bad deal. "We would just have to find a nice capitalist, someone who would not eat us whole."



Picture postcard port: Padstow, once a fishing community, now exports crab to France, handles fertilisers and grain and attracts 100,000 holidaymakers

Heads want new exam as link with A-levels

By DAVID TYTLER, EDUCATION EDITOR

A NEW examination at 17 plus should be introduced as a link between GCSEs and A-levels in an attempt to encourage more pupils to stay on at school after 16. Kenneth Clarke, the education secretary, will be told today.

Responding to proposals for the reform of A-levels, the National Association of Headteachers said the recently introduced AS-levels should be revised and the academic rigour of A-levels maintained. Proposals from the School Examinations and Assessment Council to introduce basic skills of understanding and communication into A-levels with an emphasis on course work have been criticised as leading to an inevitable decline in standards.

John MacGregor, in his last speeches as education secretary, said he would not allow any watering down in A-levels, a view echoed by Mr Clarke, who last week said there was nothing wrong with the A-level system as the route to university although he saw scope for reform with other schemes running alongside A-levels.

AS-levels are at A-level standard but contain half the content taught over two years

Letters, page 15

Education, pages 18-20

Hunt called off after wreck found

Ministers urged to drop 'tags'

By QUENTIN COWDRY
HOME AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT

MINISTERS are being urged by penal reformers, Labour MPs and probation officers to drop any use of "tagging" in the criminal justice system.

Roy Hattersley, the shadow home secretary, will tomorrow echo the fears of a diverse body of opinion when he tells MPs that electronic tagging is a gimmick. Speaking in the debate on the second reading of the criminal justice bill, he will urge ministers to concentrate on more effective ways of cutting the jail population.

Ministers believe that tagging is a useful way of diverting people from jail, both newly convicted offenders and those who are likely to be remanded in custody to await trial. They propose that tagging should be used to enforce curfews.

Opposition MPs, probation officers and bodies such as the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders have, however, been incensed by the Home Office's decision to retain tagging after what they considered was a humiliating trial failure.

The association's briefing paper, published today, says that the Home Office had hoped 150 people would be tagged during the six-month trial; in the event, only 50 were tagged and 28 of them broke their bail terms.

As the experiment cost £700,000, the association says the taxpayer had to pay £14,000 for every defendant successfully tagged.

Ministers say the real problem was that magistrates were over-cautious. David Waddington, the home secretary, believes the fact that an offender is brought back to court after breaking a "tagging order" simply proves that the system has worked, not that it is wrong in principle.

Going home

Sir Peter Lambert, the Metropolitan Police commissioner, left St Thomas's hospital, off St Thomas's, at the weekend, 19 days after suffering a heart attack. He intends to return to work in the new year.

Bond winners

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Gorbachev vision wins over last of Cold War warriors

AMID all the complaints and heckling to which President Gorbachev was subjected last week, there were also compliments from two unexpected quarters. General John Galvin, Nato's supreme commander in Europe and a man widely regarded as an unreconstructed cold warrior, returned from his first meeting with the Soviet leader to describe him as a man "of vision and courage" and wish him well.

In the Soviet parliament, the new Armenian president, Levon Ter-Petrosian, a man who does not agree with Mr Gorbachev on much, lightened the otherwise bleak mood by finding a positive side to recent changes in the country. They included, he said, the revival of the republics as political entities and the absence of repression.

General Galvin is the latest in a line of foreign converts to Gorbachevism, following a trail blazed by Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. But what is the "vision" which has won over so many diehard sceptics? Few would contest Mr Ter-Petrosian's tribute, but the changes he mentioned do not

amount to a vision, and it is the word "vision" to which Mr Gorbachev's foreign guests repeatedly return.

The available shards of evidence suggest that Mr Gorbachev does have a vision for his country, and that it combines much that Soviet citizens would applaud. He appears to want a "normal" country governed by the rule of law; a country in which moral values are shared by leaders and people; a country in which goods and services are bought and sold in a civilised way and not traded across favours; a country where people did not have to break the law to provide a decent living standard for themselves and their families, and where work was given its due reward. At a structural level, the country would be a federation of equal republics which voluntarily surrendered certain powers to the centre for the common good and greater strength of the whole. Most decisions would be taken locally, or by the republics.

The model for this new country could be almost any Western republic with a federal structure, but the closest anal-

ogy would be the United States. The past two years have seen Mr Gorbachev increasingly lean towards a concept that in its final form could make the Soviet Union a United States of Eurasia. In this, the Soviet leader is reverting to a preoccupation of the early Soviet period with its slogan: "Catch up and overtake the United States", and its building of high-rise blocks and the Moscow Underground. But Mr Gorbachev's vision seems to consist in emulation rather than competition.

Earlier this year, Mr Gorbachev made himself president with a swearing-in ceremony closely modelled on that of an American president. Recently there has been talk of a two-chamber parliament modelled on the US Congress. The powers that would be

delegated to the federal government under the new union treaty are presented as similar to those held by the United States government.

Mr Gorbachev has been host to John Sammam, the White House chief of staff, to learn about running a presidential office, and is on the verge of establishing a national "security council". The new union treaty is said to be a document that will replace the largely fictitious Soviet constitution, and work is believed to be in hand on a Soviet bill of rights. In recent weeks there has been official praise for aspects of American life, from the agriculture system to voting.

Russians frequently complain that Mr Gorbachev does not know where he is taking the country. He has been

compared with a pilot who has taken off without knowing whether there is anywhere to land. But he appears to have a destination, he knows how he would like his country to develop in the long term. The difficulty lies in getting there from here; he has taken off without either flying training or a map.

Mr Gorbachev has recently pleaded with the West to view the present Soviet problems as a crisis of transition, not of collapse. Some senior Western diplomats have sympathy for this view. They argue that disorder is inevitable during so fundamental a transition and that new, far healthier, decentralised, structures could emerge. If all that is needed is a strong stomach, Mr Gorbachev is well equipped. One of his chief aides, Georgi Shakhnazarov, said last week with some awe that the Soviet leader never felt stress. "He is very self-confident."

Mr Gorbachev may be confident, but he has also been cautious. During his travels this summer he signed declarations of friendship and security as written guarantees of foreign goodwill.

At home he has tried to ensure that all the changes, social, political and economic, take place with a backing of consensus and are controlled from the centre. He has repeatedly tried to create new structures before allowing the old ones to crumble completely, leaving old and new to battle for survival.

Co-operative ventures were encouraged to develop production of consumer goods and services; joint ventures were created to bring in foreign investment, and elected soviets were boosted to exert local power. Each of these initiatives has failed, been rethought or replaced, and this week the search is on for new political structures capable of controlling a situation that is already out of control.

Some believe that central control must be relinquished before any improvement is possible. Others fear anarchy. After Saturday's session of parliament, Mr Gorbachev has more central power than ever but exerts less overall control. It is, as Mr Gorbachev's new convert, General Galvin, said last week, going to be a "very rocky road".

Troubled republics weigh up benefits of Moscow reforms

FROM MARY DEJEVSKY IN MOSCOW

THE Russian Federation and other constituent republics of the Soviet Union were yesterday considering their response to Mikhail Gorbachev's move to extend his presidential powers and curb their recently acquired sovereignty.

Their deliberations followed the Soviet parliament's tentative approval of a new political structure that would sideline the central government and bring economic policy and law enforcement more directly under the president's control.

The structural changes, and measures to implement them, are to be discussed again next Friday when President Gorbachev returns from Paris. While approving Mr Gorbachev's proposals in principle, a tired and brow-beaten parliament rejected a resolution late on Saturday that would have given the president almost limitless powers to impose order throughout the country.

The fate of the prime minister, Nikolai Ryzhkov, was still unclear. Addressing parliament in the face of unrelenting criticism of his government, Mr Ryzhkov expressed support for administrative changes and complained of a concerted political campaign against him. He is tipped for the new post of vice-president. He made no mention of resignation, but conceded afterwards that the proposed changes could leave him without a job. "The post of prime minister," he was quoted as saying, "may cease to exist."

The new structure abolishes the 18-member presidential council of ministers and advisers, established only eight months ago, and replaces

it with a cabinet of ministers, an executive body, said to include the same key ministers, to oversee implementation of laws.

The Council of the Federation, which currently comprises the president, prime minister and Communist party leaders of all the Soviet Union's republics, is to have an enhanced role in policy-making and implementation, with each republic having the right of veto.

The purpose of this appears to be to give the republics more central power and bring the central and republican authorities closer. The disadvantage, according to some republican representatives, is that they, rather than the centre, could be blamed when laws and decrees were disregarded.

A new control chamber to oversee law and order and combat corruption would be created, directly answerable to the president in an apparent attempt to deflect criticism that the law and order situation is out of control.

The president has also proposed establishing a "security council" to provide him with information and advice. The name in Russian sounds more ominous than its UN equivalent, and that the battle for authority between the two parliaments would continue.

Even if the structure of the council of ministers is retained, Mr Gorbachev promised far-reaching personnel changes in his speech to parliament on Friday. They may include the defence minister, Marshal Dmitri Yazov, who will be held answerable for low morale in the armed forces, and the interior minister, Vadim Bakatin, who will be made the scapegoat for the breakdown of law and order.



My way: Lech Wałęsa rallies support at a Warsaw presidential election meeting, in the face of falling poll ratings. The Solidarity leader criticised the pace of reform

Soviet troops encounter growing Baltic hostility

By ANATOL LIEVEN

RELATIONS between the Soviet armed forces and the Baltic republics have worsened after clashes in Lithuania and Latvia during recent days.

In Lithuania at the weekend, a demonstration by radical nationalist groups outside the main Soviet army base in the capital, Vilnius, was dispersed by troops, who fired in the air and turned fire hoses on the crowd, which had thrown stones over the gates.

Lithuanians said the demonstration was in support of local youths who had refused to serve in the Soviet army. It did not have the support of the main nationalist movement, Sajūdis, or the Lithuanian government, and the incident has not been given prominent coverage in the local press. Tension between Soviet soldiers and the local population is growing, and there are fears of further unrest.

In neighbouring Latvia, the parliament has empowered

the government to cut off supplies of food and electricity to Soviet troops stationed there. This comes after the Black Berets, a group of paramilitary police under the command of the Soviet interior ministry, physically blocked the transfer of a Communist party headquarters in the town of Jurmala to the local administration.

Disputes have emerged throughout the Baltic states between the new national administrations and the Russian-dominated communist parties, which remain loyal to Moscow.

In Latvia, the Black Berets are guarding the republic's main printing house, ownership of which is disputed between the party and the state. Soviet troops were present during the clash in Jurmala, but reportedly took no action.

The mood of Soviet loyalist officers in the Baltic is becom-

ing increasingly desperate. According to a Soviet source in Riga, the Soviet high command is planning to dissolve the command structures, shifting its headquarters to Leningrad, which suggests that it, too, has recognised the inevitability of Baltic independence.

However, Baltic observers say that the threat to cut off supplies to the garrisons should not be taken too seriously. The Lithuanian parliament passed a similar measure earlier this year, but it was never put into effect.

According to Aivars Baumans, chief of the Novosti press agency in Riga, the point is rather to reinforce Latvia's argument at the negotiating table that the Soviet army, as an "occupying force", has no legal status, and that future questions concerning its position will have to be renegotiated as part of the independence process.

Young Muslims disagree.

Mr Zulfikarpasic is a Muslim who emphasises he is not a fanatic. More than 40 per cent of Bosnia's population of four million are Muslims. Compared to the Croats who make up a Catholic fifth of the population and the Serbs who account for a third, the Bosnian Muslims are the most attached to their culture and religion. "They are the strongest and the most virile," Mr Zulfikarpasic says.

The potentially explosive mix of cultures has, since the second world war, rarely led to violence here. While Serbs in Belgrade and Croats in Zagreb may vilify each other, in Bosnia they get along.

Mr Zulfikarpasic explains this as partly the result of the Muslims' influence, but he insists all Bosnians, whether Croats, Serbs or Muslims, share the same viewpoint.

Young Muslims disagree.

Yeltsin poised to sign treaty with Ukraine

From ROBERT SEELY IN KIEV

BORIS Yeltsin, leader of the Russian Federation, is expected to sign a landmark treaty between the Russian Federation and Ukraine later today.

The agreement, which is expected to outline the two republics' economic relations, will bypass the central Soviet authorities. It will be seen as another blow to President Gorbachev's struggle to preserve the Soviet Union's fragile unity.

Mr Yeltsin and the Ukrainian president, Leonid Kravchuk, will meet today to sign the treaty and hold talks on the relationship between the two republics. By signing the agreement, Russia and Ukraine are effectively stating that they want sovereign control of their respective economies. There are still big



State of rage: a supporter of the Slovak Nationalists, demanding their own nation, shouting at a woman during a Bratislava rally at the weekend

Bosnians vote for Europe and Muslim faith

FROM RICHARD BASSETT IN SARAJEVO

THE people of the Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina voted yesterday in the first multi-party election intended to assure a gradual transition to democracy after 45 years of communist rule.

The voters were electing 280 deputies to the republican parliament and a seven-member collective presidency. Initial reports suggested that the turn-out would be high. According to polling station officers in Sarajevo, by midday 30 per cent of the electorate had cast their votes. Even in rural areas, where flimsy tins and paper boxes took the place of ballot boxes, voting was reported as brisk. The first unofficial returns are expected tomorrow.

Given the republic's high level of illiteracy - 40 per cent in 1988 - many papers could be spoilt and conclusive results may not be known until next Wednesday. Most observers expect the elections to have been conducted fairly, though already there have been allegations that electoral lists have been tampered with.

Diplomats consider it likely that the results will be a vindication of Bosnia's unusual formula of equilibrium, which so far has weathered the storms of nationalism raging around it.

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The revamped party, under the name of the Socialist Party of Labour, vowed to revive socialism with liberal left-wing policies. (Reuters)

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الآن في

Forces chief predicts war would end within days

From CHRISTOPHER WALKER IN DHARAHAN

AS ALLIED troops and aircraft continued exercises in the Gulf yesterday, Lieutenant-General Sir Peter de la Billière, the overall commander of British forces in the region, insisted that if the confrontation turned to war, it would be over in a matter of days.

The general's confident prediction, given in a rare briefing for Saudi journalists, ran counter to the warning by some prominent Western defence analysts that war could run on for weeks, even months, producing casualty figures of anywhere between 15,000 and 50,000.

"I think if there is a war, it will be a short one because of the overwhelming forces that Saudi Arabia now has," General de la Billière said.

He said the allies already had overwhelming air superiority and, when extra reinforcements arrived over the next few weeks, they would also have ground superiority

Sultan pledges reform

From REUTER
IN MUSCAT

THE ruler of Oman, a key state in the international alliance against Iraq, took an important step toward political reform yesterday by announcing plans for a consultative assembly.

Sultan Qaboos, who made the announcement in a speech marking the 20th anniversary of his reign, said the assembly would be formed within a year. One official said it would be the first popularly elected parliament in the Gulf state but others said it was not yet clear if members would be elected or appointed.

"We have decided upon the formation of a consultative assembly in which all the counties of the sultanate are to be represented," he said.

The new parliament will be composed of representatives from the country's 42 counties. The only other popular elections among the rich Gulf Arab states was in Kuwait.

Omani officials said the form and means of choosing members of the assembly had not yet been decided. But one official said it would be an elected body, unlike the existing State Consultative Council which has 52 appointed members from the central government, the counties and the private sector.

"There will be no government membership of this Majlis (parliament)," the sultan said. It would "provide more opportunities for Omani citizens' wider participation in the responsibilities and tasks in the construction of the fatherland."

Sultan Qaboos deposed his father, Sultan Said, in a coup in 1970 with the aim of ending the country's isolation and using its oil revenue for modernisation and development. Since then he has kept a firm hand on its development. He is his own prime minister, defence minister and foreign affairs minister.

Letters, page 15



Conference lift-off: a helicopter hovering above a street in central Paris in a trial run for possible evacuations at today's security meeting

Kohl pleads for caution on action against Saddam

From IAN MURRAY IN OGDERSHEIM

HELmut Kohl has urged "Anybody who takes a look at President Bush not to go to war with Iraq. He made his plea when the two met over lunch in the German chancellor's suburban home yesterday to discuss world problems.

Outside in the rain two young people in the crowd held up a blue banner with the words: "No war. Wait." That was very much the message the chancellor was giving to his guests as they reviewed the Gulf conflict.

President Bush, aware that the chancellor had said in a radio interview that morning that the Middle East problems must be solved by peaceful means, wanted a clear commitment that Germany would support a military action.

The chancellor, who was anxious not to offend the man he praised as being largely responsible for German unity, carefully said that it was up to the United Nations Security Council to decide on war.

When the two emerged after lunch they stood bare-headed in the rain to answer press questions. "We were in agreement here that the international community stood together and stands fast in a coalition which is on the basis of the UN resolution in the sense that we want to see respect for international law restored," the chancellor said.

"We were in agreement that it is of utmost importance to see a release of all hostages of all nationalities as soon as possible. This must be the most important prerequisite for any further talks and all negotiations which we hope will lead to peace. These negotiations can be successful only if both sides want their share as the consequences of this assault are removed."

The president, who said that lunch "in the home of two friends," had led to "a frank and open discussion," could only say that he echoed the chancellor's views. "The Germans are keeping the coalition and in my view they are fulfilling their role," he said.

Germany was now a world leader, he acknowledged.

Bush visit disappoints Czechs

From PETER GREEN
IN PRAGUE

PRESIDENT Bush compared the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait to Hitler's annexation of Czechoslovakia at Munich in 1938 and said that world leaders should not again appease an aggressor.

In a televised speech during a 24-hour visit to Prague, he quoted Neville Chamberlain, the former British prime minister, saying: "You know the tragic consequences when nations confront with aggression choose to tell themselves it is no concern of theirs, just a quarrel in a faraway country between people of whom we know nothing."

But Czechs were disappointed by his whirlwind visit, which ended yesterday. Many said they were honoured by his presence on the first anniversary of their country's velvet revolution, and more than 100,000 people turned out to listen attentively to his 20-minute address in Wenceslas Square.

In his two speeches here Mr Bush made many promises, saying Czechoslovakia and the United States shared a history, a vision and friendship, and pledging America's support for Czechoslovakia as the country undertakes its difficult economic and political reforms. But all Mr Bush



Prague memento: a Czech schoolgirl in traditional dress presenting a book to Barbara Bush

President Havel of Czechoslovakia, who delivered a sombre assessment of his country's progress one year after the revolution began. "Today we are standing here somewhat embarrassed," he told the crowd. "We know very well what we have to accomplish. Why do we find it so difficult to launch our joint project off the ground?"

"Dissatisfaction, nervousness, insecurity and disillusionment are widespread in our society," Mr Havel said, adding that he was worried by the "rancour, rivalry, mutual denigration, envy and boundless ambition" infecting public life.

Mr Havel called on his countrymen to search their own souls. "Let us try to visualise the contours of our frequently parochial, myopic and dim-witted action as perceived by the civilised world." He also called on Czechs to look to the United States' own 200-year history of democracy as they struggled along the road to political and economic freedom.

In a remark that may indicate a tougher line towards the entrenched communists, he asked why "historic justice" had not been done to the leaders of the regime he helped to overthrow a year ago.

White House drums up support for use of force

From MARTIN FLETCHER, WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT Bush has issued a warning, in a rare article for an American news magazine, that the United States cannot afford to wait indefinitely for sanctions against Iraq to work. "Many, understandably, counsel prolonged patience," he writes in this week's *Newsweek*, "yet it is grim reality that with each passing day the consequences of Saddam Hussein's aggression grow."

He cites several factors as against a protracted stand-off. Iraq's "ominous" development of "the most sophisticated weapons of mass destruction known to man — nuclear and biological weapons", the fate of American citizens and US diplomats still in Kuwait, and the fact that "the potential cost in human lives of what would be required to break Saddam's grip on Kuwait amounts as to the global economic costs of his aggression".

James Baker, the US Secretary of State, said yesterday that Iraq was making "extraordinary efforts" to develop a nuclear capability, and the world should be very concerned. But he refused to disclose intelligence estimates of when it might achieve it, nor say whether Iraq was close enough to influence American action in the Gulf.

The *Newsweek* article is the latest hint from the administration that military action may be necessary sooner rather than later. In an interview last Thursday with Cable News Network Mr Bush said that there was a "ticking of the clock", saying the problem with trying to slowly strangle Iraq through sanctions was that "holding public opinion for ever in any country is very difficult to do."

Mr Baker last week signalled the administration's fading belief that the trade embargo alone will persuade Iraq to leave Kuwait when he said it was impossible to say "with certainty" whether

sanctions would or would not work.

In the same article Mr Bush hints that American goals in the Gulf now include the permanent bobbing of Iraq's military might. "Iraq can never again be in a position to threaten the survival of its neighbours or our vital interests," he says. Richard Cheney, the Defence Secretary, spoke yesterday of the possible continued need once this crisis is over for international sanctions to prevent that happening.

Mr Bush's article and his CNN interview are part of a drive to bolster sagging public support for intervention in the Gulf and to respond to criticism that he has not adequately explained why that intervention is necessary. He reasoned yesterday that the world could not reward aggression, or could Iraq be allowed to have a stranglehold on the world's economic life-line, its oil reserves.

Paris on alert for security summit

From ALAN TILLIER
IN PARIS

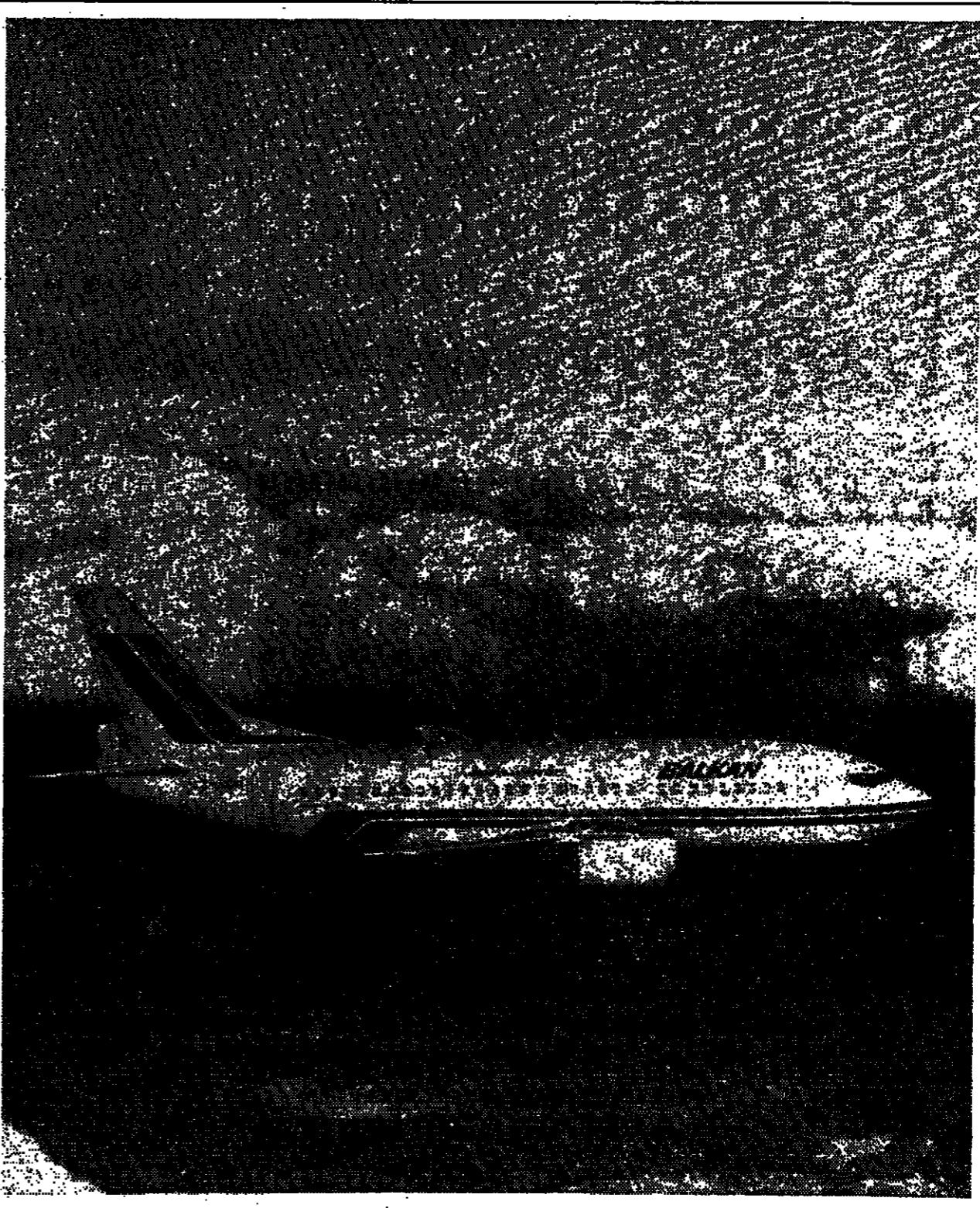
HAVING hailed the security conference as the most important diplomatic gathering since the end of the second world war, the French government was taking no chances over security around the building.

Ten thousand gendarmes and troops guarded the boulevards and buildings in the centre of Paris. The area around the conference site on Avenue Kleber was completely sealed. The security covered a wide area, including the Avenue des Champs Elysées and the highways along the Seine opposite the Eiffel Tower.

Gendarmes were posted on rooftops, terraces and bridges. Vehicles had been systematically removed for days to prevent car bombs. Manhole covers had been lifted and police with barbed wire had entered the extensive sewer system to establish an underground "no go zone". Crack riflemen were posted near the Arc de Triomphe, 100 yards from the conference building. The authorities have feared the lone Jackal-style marksman since attempts on the life of General de Gaulle.

With 11 heads of state and 27 heads of government in town, traffic jams are expected for the next three days. The prefect of police plans to close main routes for "short" intervals, but last night he advised Parisians not to drive at all — an appeal that has never been heard in the past.

Meanwhile, it was announced that Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of France's main far-right party, left for Baghdad yesterday at the invitation of the Iraqi government. M Le Pen has been the only prominent French political leader to denounce President Mitterrand's Gulf policies since Iraq invaded Kuwait on August 2. He has urged the withdrawal of the 5,500 French troops in Saudi Arabia and has described President Saddam Hussein of Iraq as a patriot.

Thatcher interview, page 14
Leading article, page 15

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BALKAN 



Gorbachev vision wins over last of Cold War warriors

AMID all the complaints and heckling to which President Gorbachev was subjected last week, there were also compliments from two unexpected quarters. General John Galvin, Nato's supreme commander in Europe and a man widely regarded as an unconstructed cold warrior, returned from his first meeting with the Soviet leader to describe him as a man "of vision and courage" and wish him well.

In the Soviet parliament, the new Armenian president, Levon Ter-Petrosian, a man who does not agree with Mr Gorbachev on much, lightened the otherwise black mood by finding a positive side to recent changes in the country. They included, he said, the revival of the republics as political entities and the absence of repression.

General Galvin is the latest in a line of foreign converts to Gorbachevism, following a trail blazed by Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. But what is the "vision" which has won over so many diehard sceptics? Few would contest Mr Ter-Petrosian's tribute, but the changes he mentioned do not

amount to a vision, and it is the word "vision" to which Mr Gorbachev's foreign guests repeatedly return.

The available strands of evidence suggest that Mr Gorbachev does have a vision for his country, and that it combines much that Soviet citizens would applaud. He appears to want a "normal" country governed by the rule of law, a country in which moral values are shared by leaders and people; a country in which goods and services are bought and sold in a civilised way and not traded against favours; a country where people did not have to break the law to provide a decent living standard for themselves and their families, and where work was given its due reward. At a structural level, the country would be a federation of equal republics which voluntarily surrendered certain powers to the centre for the common good and greater strength of the whole. Most decisions would be taken locally, or by

The model for this new country could be almost any Western republic with a federal structure, but the closest anal-

ogy would be the United States. The past two years have seen Mr Gorbachev increasingly lean towards a concept that in its final form could make the Soviet Union a United States of Eurasia. In this, the Soviet leader is reverting to a preoccupation of the early Soviet period with its slogan "Catch up and overtake the United States", and its building of high-rise blocks and the Moscow Underground. But Mr Gorbachev's vision seems to consist in emulation rather than competition.

Earlier this year, Mr Gorbachev made himself president with a swearing-in ceremony closely modelled on that of an American president. Recently there has been talk of a two-chamber parliament modelled on the US Congress. The powers that would be

delegated to the federal government under the new union treaty are presented as similar to those held by the United States government.

Mr Gorbachev has been host to John Sununu, the White House chief of staff, to learn about running a presidential office, and is on the verge of establishing a national "security council". The new union treaty is said to be a document that will replace the largely fictitious Soviet constitution, and work is believed to be in hand on a Soviet bill of rights. In recent weeks there has been official praise for aspects of American life, from the agriculture system to voting.

Russians frequently complain that Mr Gorbachev does not know where he is taking the country. He has been

compared with a pilot who has taken off without knowing whether there is anywhere to land. But he appears to have a destination, he knows how he would like his country to develop in the long term. The difficulty lies in getting there from here; he has taken off without either flying training or a map.

Mr Gorbachev has recently pleaded with the West to view the present Soviet problems as a crisis of transition, not of collapse. Some senior Western diplomats have sympathy for this view. They argue that disorder is inevitable during so fundamental a transition and that new, far healthier, decentralised structures could emerge. If all that is needed is a strong stomach, Mr Gorbachev is well equipped. One of his aides, Georgi Shakhmatov, said last week with some awe that the Soviet leader never felt stress. "He is very self-confident."

Mr Gorbachev may be confident, but he has also been cautious. During his travels this autumn he signed declarations of friendship and security as written guarantees of foreign goodwill.

At home he has tried to ensure that all the changes, social, political and economic, take place with a backing of consensus and are controlled from the centre. He has repeatedly tried to create new structures before allowing the old ones to crumble completely, leaving old and new to battle for survival.

Co-operative ventures were encouraged to develop production of consumer goods and services; joint ventures were created to bring in foreign investment, and elected Soviets were boosted to exert local power. Each of these initiatives has failed, been rethought or replaced, and this week the search is on for new political structures capable of controlling a situation that is already out of control.

Some believe that central control must be relinquished before any improvement is possible. Others fear anarchy. After Saturday's session of parliament, Mr Gorbachev has more central power than ever but exerts less overall control. It is, as Mr Gorbachev's new convert, General Galvin, said last week, going to be a "very rocky road".

Troubled republics weigh up benefits of Moscow reforms

From MARY DEJEVSKY IN MOSCOW

THE Russian Federation and other constituent republics of the Soviet Union were yesterday considering their response to Mikhail Gorbachev's move to extend his presidential powers and curb their recently acquired sovereignty.

Their deliberations followed the Soviet parliament's tentative approval of a new political structure that would sideline the central government and bring economic policy and law enforcement more directly under the president's control.

The structural changes, and measures to implement them, are to be discussed again next Friday when President Gorbachev returns from Paris. While approving Mr Gorbachev's proposals in principle, a tired and brow-beaten parliament rejected a resolution late on Saturday that would have given the president almost limitless powers to impose order throughout the country.

The fate of the prime minister, Nikolai Ryzhkov, was still unclear. Addressing parliament in the face of unrelenting criticism of his government, Mr Ryzhkov expressed support for administrative changes and complained of a concerted political campaign against him. He is tipped for the new post of vice-president. He made no mention of resignation, but conceded afterwards that the proposed changes could leave him without a job. "The post of prime minister," he was quoted as saying, "may cease to exist."

The new structure abolishes the 18-member presidential council of ministers and advisers established only eight months ago, and replaces

it with a cabinet of ministers, an executive body, said to include the same key ministers, to oversee implementation of laws.

The Council of the Federation, which currently comprises the president, prime minister and Communist party leaders of all the Soviet Union's republics, is to have an enhanced role in policy-making and implementation, with each republic having the right of veto.

The purpose of this appears to be to give the republics more central power and bring the central and republic authorities closer. The disadvantage, according to some republic representatives, is that they, rather than the centre, could be blamed when laws and decrees were prepared to sign it.

A new control chamber to oversee law and order and combat corruption would be created, directly answerable to the president in an apparent attempt to deflect criticism that the law and order situation is out of control.

The president has also proposed establishing a "security council" to provide him with information and advice. The name in Russian sounds more ominous than its UN equivalent, closer perhaps to a council for national salvation.

Even if the structure of the council of ministers is retained, Mr Gorbachev promised far-reaching personnel changes in his speech to parliament on Friday. They may include the defence minister, Marshal Dmitri Yazov, who will be held answerable for low morale in the armed forces, and the interior minister, Vadim Bakatin, who will be made the scapegoat for the breakdown of law and order.

Given their stated intention of leaving the Soviet Union, the three Baltic states and Georgia appear unlikely to participate in any revamped council of the federation.



My way: Lech Walesa rallies support at a Warsaw presidential election meeting, in the face of falling poll ratings. The Solidarity leader criticised the pace of reform

Soviet troops encounter growing Baltic hostility

By ANATOL LIEVEN

RELATIONS between the Soviet armed forces and the Baltic republics have worsened after clashes in Lithuania and Latvia during recent days.

In Lithuania at the weekend, a demonstration by radical nationalist groups outside the main Soviet army base in the capital, Vilnius, was dispersed by troops, who fired in the air and turned fire hoses on the crowd, which had thrown stones over the gate.

Lithuanians said the demonstration was in support of local youths who had refused to serve in the Soviet army. It did not have the support of the main nationalist movement, Sajudis, or the Lithuanian government, and the incident has not been given prominent coverage in the local press.

Tension between Soviet soldiers and the local population is growing, and there are fears of further unrest.

In neighbouring Latvia, the parliament has empowered

the government to cut off supplies of food and electricity to Soviet troops stationed there. This comes after the Black Berets, a group of paramilitary police under the command of the Soviet interior ministry, physically blocked the transfer of a Communist party headquarters in Jurmala to the local administration.

Disputes have emerged throughout the Baltic states between the new national administrations and the Russian-dominated communist parties, which remain loyal to Moscow.

In Latvia, the Black Berets are guarding the republic's main printing house, ownership of which is disputed between the party and the state. Soviet troops were present during the clash in Jurmala, but reportedly took no action.

The mood of Soviet loyalist officers in the Baltic is becom-

ing increasingly desperate. According to a Soviet source in Riga, the Soviet high command is planning to dissolve the command structures, shifting its headquarters to Leningrad, which suggests that it, too, has recognised the inevitability of Baltic independence.

However, Baltic observers say that the threat to cut off supplies to the garrisons should not be taken too seriously. The Lithuanian parliament passed a similar measure earlier this year, but it was never put into effect.

According to Alvaro Baumans, chief of the Novosti press agency in Riga, the point is rather to reinforce Latvia's argument that the Soviet army, as an "occupying force", has no legal status, and that future questions concerning its position will have to be renegotiated as part of the independence process.

Mr Zulfikarpasic is a Muslim; he emphasises he is not a fanatic. More than 40 per cent of Bosnia's population of four million are Muslims. Compared to the Croats, who make up a Catholic fifth of the population and the Serbs who account for a third, the Bosnian Muslims are the most attached to their culture and religion. "They are the strongest and the most virile," Mr Zulfikarpasic says.

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Young Muslims disagree.

Yeltsin poised to sign treaty with Ukraine

From ROBERT STEILY IN KIEV

BORIS Yeltsin, leader of the Russian Federation, is expected to sign a landmark treaty between the Russian Federation and Ukraine here today.

The agreement, which is expected to outline the two republics' economic relations, will bypass the central Soviet authorities. It will be seen as another blow to President Gorbachev's struggle to preserve the Soviet Union's fragile unity.

Mr Yeltsin and the Ukrainian president, Leonid Kravchuk, will meet today to sign the treaty and hold talks on the relationship between the two republics. By signing the agreement, Russia and Ukraine are effectively stating that they want sovereign control of their respective economies. There are still big

differences in the political situation between the two republics. Mr Yeltsin is one of Russia's leading radicals, while in Ukraine pro-Soviet communists still hold a majority in the republic's parliament.

• MOSCOW: An unidentified gunman shot dead a young Russian Orthodox priest in the west Ukrainian village of Banyiv, the trade union paper *Trud* reported yesterday. It said investigators had no clues as to why the priest was murdered.

Western Ukraine has been plagued by clashes between members of the Catholic Uniate and Orthodox churches in a dispute over Ultimatum houses of worship seized under Stalin after the second world war and given to the Orthodox denomination. (AP)



State of rage: a supporter of the Slovak Nationalists, demanding their own nation, shooting at a woman during a Bratislava rally at the weekend

Bosnians vote for Europe and Muslim faith

FROM RICHARD BASSETT IN SARAJEVO

THE people of the Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina voted yesterday in the first multi-party election intended to assure a gradual transition to democracy after 45 years of communist rule.

The voters were electing 280 deputies to the republican parliament and a seven-member collective presidency. Initial reports suggested that the turnout would be high. According to polling station officers in Sarajevo, by mid-day 30 per cent of the electorate had cast their votes.

Even in rural areas, where flimsy tins and paper boxes took the place of ballot boxes, voting was reported as brisk. The first unofficial returns are expected tomorrow.

Given the republic's high level of illiteracy — 40 per cent in 1988 — many papers could be spoilt and conclusive results may not be known until next Wednesday. Most observers expect the elections to have been conducted fairly, though already there have been allegations that electoral lists have been tampered with.

Diplomats consider it likely that the results will be a vindication of Bosnia's unusual formula of equilibrium, which so far has weathered the storms of nationalism raging around it.

At a time when the tide of populism is sweeping Eastern Europe, the restrained, dignified figure of Adil Zulfikarpasic is an unusual sight.

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The revamped party, under the name of the Socialist Party of Labour, vowed to revive socialism with liberal left-wing policies. (Reuters)

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Berlin — Frederick the Great, the 18th century philosopher-king who made Prussia a great military power, is to be reburied as he wished in Potsdam, 205 years after his death, a Sunday newspaper reported. He had been buried near Stuttgart. (Reuters)

Crash escape

Prague — A Soviet cargo plane carrying of 15 tonnes of American cigarettes caught fire and crashed in northern Czechoslovakia on a flight from Bratislava to Moscow. The crew of six escaped with minor injuries when the aircraft came down near the spa town of Velichkovy. (Reuters)

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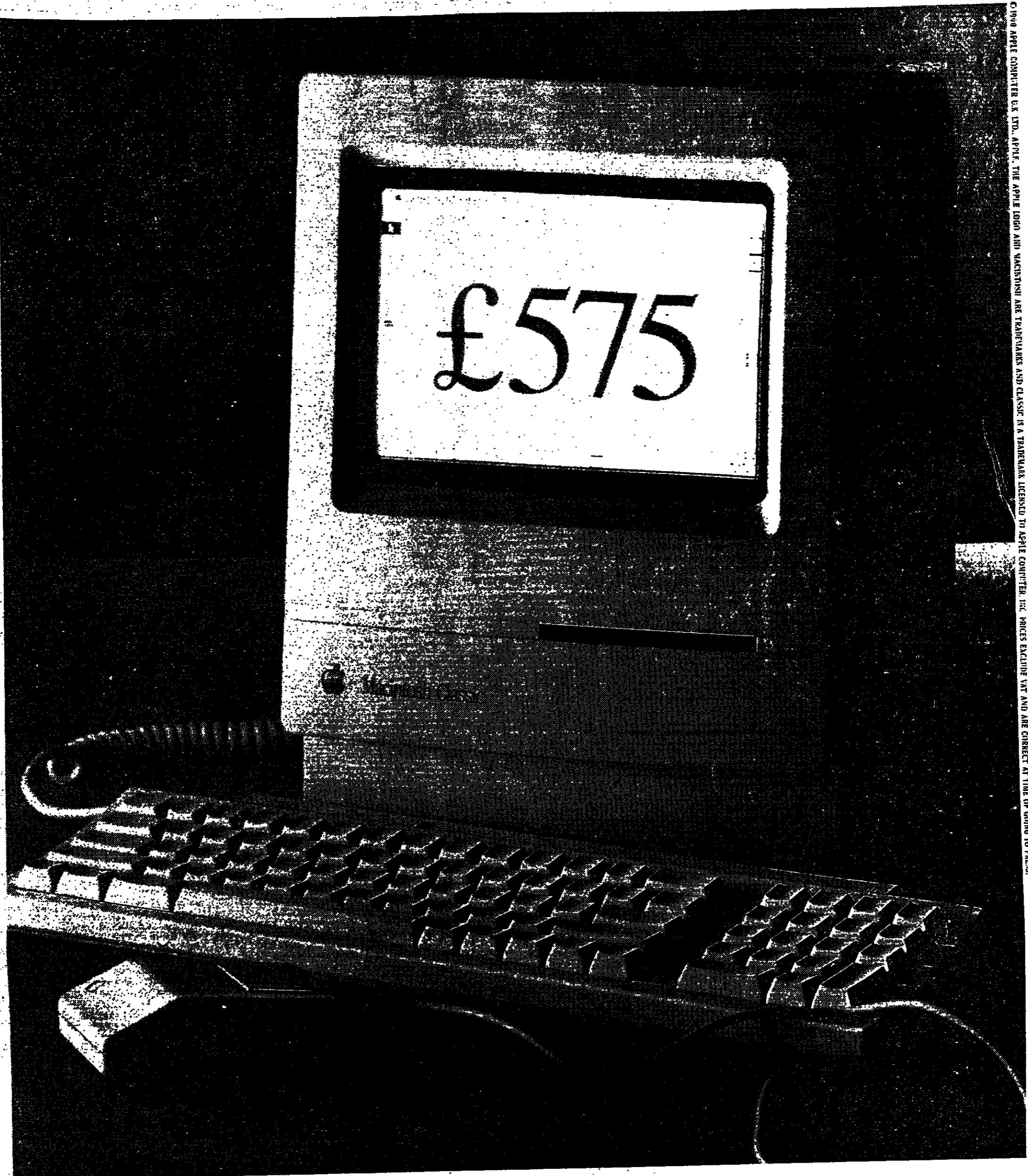
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In place of the boxes

Marcus Binney

Chris Patten, the environment secretary, has indicated he believes government can improve the quality of new architecture. Going a step further than Nicholas Ridley, who was virulently anti-planner, he tentatively suggests the Prince of Wales's favoured recipe building codes. He wants to restrict these, however, to general matters. That is not enough.

Planning committees must have the freedom to reject a design because it is boring, bland, faceless, insipid, or lacking in character without the applicant whingeing to Mr Patten about aesthetic interference by venacious councillors.

The buildings the public dislikes are not inevitably the avant garde - but, above all, the hackneyed, soulless, repetitive, concrete-and-steel boxes with endless rows of identical windows, drab colouring, and no enlivening detail. The most popular recent building in London (disdained by some architects) is the Marco Polo building on the approach to Chelsea Bridge, its glistening white and grey livery making so startling a contrast to the surrounding depressed area.

The mistake always made is to assume that any kind of aesthetic control automatically means that planning officers and councillors will start dictating style. What they need is the ability to do three things. The first is to require (as Mr Patten accepts) that a building pays more consideration to its context. This does not mean it has to be tame or insipid. It can be a contrast, even a strident one, like the still controversial space rocket in St James's on the site of the old Map House.

Second, they must be able to insist, in conspicuous locations, that a building has a distinct individuality. Mr Patten baulks at pastiche (his remark, "I am not over-fond of Victorian neo-Gothic", will be the despair of the Victorian Society) without recognising that the most objectionable forms of pastiche or imitation are the thousands and thousands of modern buildings that are virtual carbon copies of similar buildings elsewhere. Tackiness is not just tacked-on beams but tacked-on panels in concrete, glass reinforced fibre, aluminium, or whatever, which hideously stain in a few years.

Third, planning committees must be able to exercise a judgment on the quality of the actual construction, the materials, the finish, and the details. They must have the confidence... and the backing from Mr Patten's department, to throw out the cheapo speculative office block in the centre of town without dictating the appearance of every showroom and filling station on the ring road. Many new buildings are objectionable principally because the detailing is so crude. This does not mean a reversion to curlicue carvings or stiff leaf foliage. Many

...and moreover

MATTHEW PARRIS

"THE HALF," said the 8th century Greek poet Hesiod, "is more than the whole." One is wont to quote this wisely without the least idea what Hesiod meant. But at last I know, for, perusing my fortnightly issue of the *Peak Advertiser* (incorporating the *Peak and Dales Property Guide*) my eye falls upon the "For Sale" column in the paper's extensive classified advertising section.

Within seconds I am agog. So Hesiod was anticipating the advent of the local freshet! For here, in flat schoolboy prose, are a hundred tales half told. Here are the clues - casually dropped - to affairs of the human heart on a scale of tragedy and triumph so wild as to make a Brontë blush. By comparison with the epic each entry seems to announce reality can only disappoint.

• Spong mincing set, unused, £5. Two ladies nightdresses, size 40-42 £2.50 each. Tel: Matlock 73... No, no second thoughts I shall omit the telephone number in case this paper should fall into the hands of the wrong sort of element.

• Austrian blind, 5' across 6' drop, with matching lampshades, £25. Ladies two-piece suit, jacket short sleeves, tailored skirt size 14, never worn... Ah! with what unspoken sorrow was that phrase penned - and with what suppressed anger the postscript *No offers*.

Was it the lady who had no offers? The phone number betrays a Hope Valley exchange. Was she out of place, there, where sheep graze on the high moorlands? Were the sleeves too short, the skirt too tailored for the rainswept informality of rural Derbyshire life?

No, I picture a different story. There was no lady. She existed only in the mind of a deluded Austrian professor conscripted into Hitler's air force, shot down over Lincolnshire and given forced wartime labour repairing dry-stone walls on a farm near Hope. Afterwards he stayed, believing that his young Viennese fiancée would surely join him.

That was 1946. They broke it to him gently, of course. They told him of the Italian captain who had swept

In her last interview before tomorrow's Tory vote, Margaret Thatcher tells Simon Jenkins of her regrets, and her scorn for Mr Heseltine's policies

I have not finished yet

STEPHEN MARKESON



Mrs Thatcher relaxes at 10 Downing Street for a *Times* photographer yesterday. "I am not going on and on, but I do want to entrench what Keith Joseph and others believed in"

Heseltine and what she regards as his industrial philosophy in the past? What had brought it to the surface now? What flank has she left uncovered that his supporters are now able to exploit?

Her vulnerability to what she sees as Heseltinean corporatism is partly the plea of MPs for intervention for local firms in recession: "Obviously the tendency is to say, 'Please can we have some help to see us through a difficult period?' When we came in we were told that you can never let a big company go. But we had to. The more you help, the more you are helping... the industries of

that would wish to stay until inflation was down. He didn't."

"You may accuse me of being very tough. But that was Nigel's style. He had his own way. They had a new theory [shadowing the Deutschmark] and they wanted to do it Nigel's way. He had a fertile imagination. You need a fertile imagination. Nick Ridley had a fertile imagination, to think the unthinkable and do the impossible."

And what of other colleagues who, like Mr Lawson, ultimately found her style too much for them - however differently she may

'Had I faltered, we would have neither the success nor international reputation we have. Yet when a woman is strong, she is strident. If a man is strong, he's a good guy.'

But Mrs Thatcher, the black hole now threatening to engulf her is, of course, inflation. Press Mrs Thatcher hard - it has to be hard - and the one error to which she will confess is the credit expansion of 1987-88, when Nigel Lawson halved interest rates. Cut open her heart on her deathbed and you will find written the words, "Shadowing the Deutschmark". She refers to these years as "the two I lost", the "setback", the time "when I gave in". If she is beaten this week, it will be to those years that she will look back in despair.

The culprit is obvious, a belief in Mr Lawson that she allowed briefly to overcome her belief in monetarism (coupled with the name of Sir Alan Walters). Yet she retains a strong loyalty to Mr Lawson. "Nigel was a very original thinker, an imaginative thinker." But times were different then. "We used not to have as many general discussions. He liked to play his cards close to his chest. That was his style. I had my style (Mrs Thatcher implies that hers was modest by comparison) and he had his. I wish to goodness that he had not left. I had thought

he would be guilty of the worst short-term."

And now? "Now we have got

inflation. We have got inflation because we departed from those fundamental principles. You went away from the medium-term financial strategy to look at the exchange rate and that meant you were shadowing something else."

(Mrs Thatcher is famous for switching to second person when distancing herself.)

"You cannot have two masters. If your exchange rate is your master then will come a time when the exchange rate will either signal an increase or a reduction in interest rates, when your money supply is signalling something different. The interest rate came right down when monetary conditions were signalling that it should not."

And whom did she blame? "That's the time when I departed from the plan. If I might say so, I think my view was upheld, even though I did not press it to its logical conclusion. Ironically, this was the one time I didn't stand out for what I believed in enough. That put us back into inflation."

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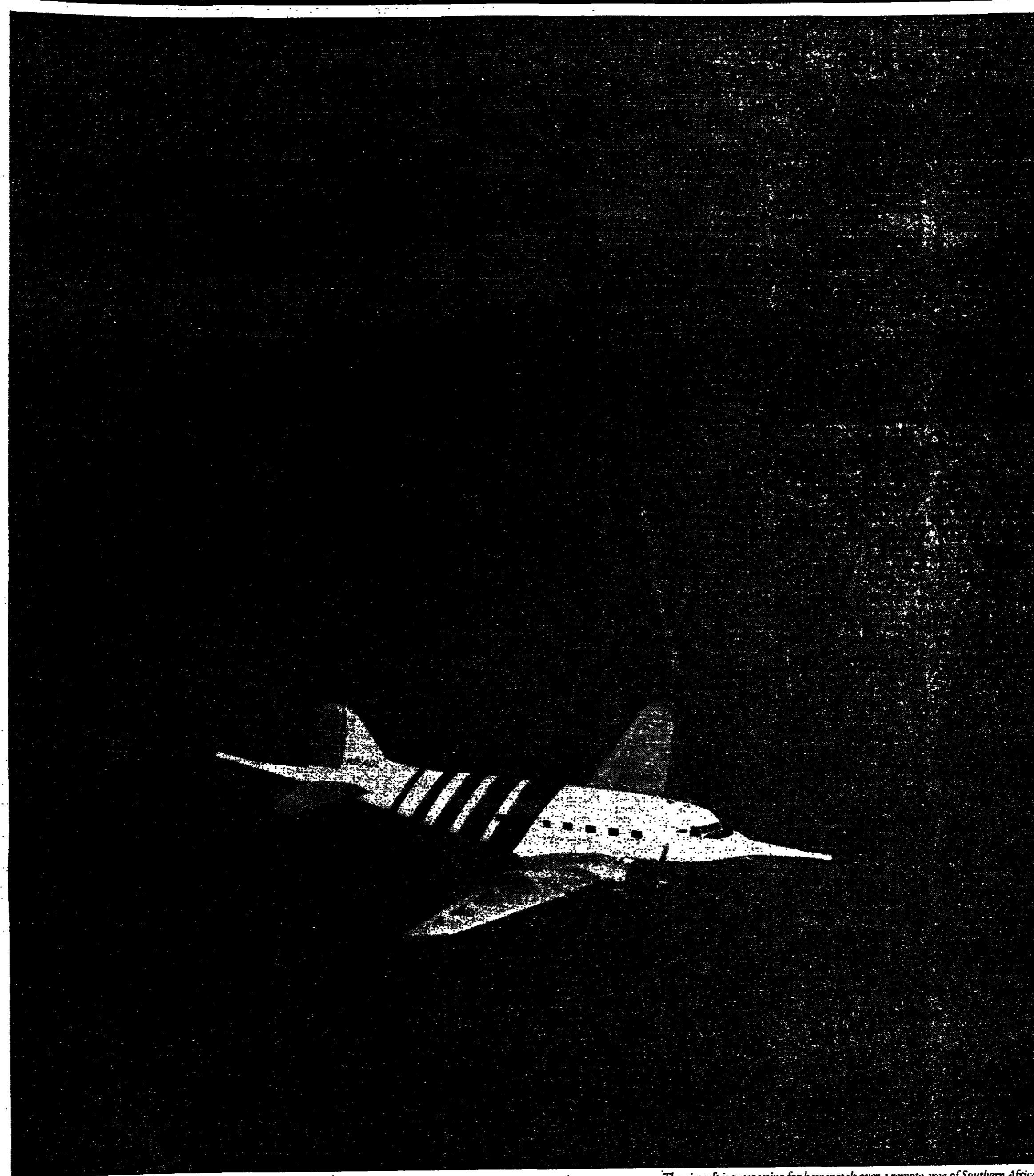
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And whom did she blame



The aircraft is prospecting for base metals over a remote area of Southern Africa.

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It takes more than imagination to look for the earth's hidden resources from 300 feet up in the air. It takes a special combination of expertise, innovation, financial resources and state-of-the-art technology.

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look. And then to find ways of getting it out.

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ANGLO AMERICAN CORPORATION OF SOUTH AFRICA



COURT CIRCULAR

BUCKINGHAM PALACE November 18: The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh were represented by Lord Reay (Lord in Waiting) at the Memorial Service for the Lord Cardigan (formerly Governor of Cyprus) which was held in Westminster

Central Hall, Stores Gate, London SW1, this afternoon.

The Princess Royal arrived at Royal Air Force Lyneham this afternoon from Barcelona.

Lady Davina Windsor is thirteen years old today.

Forthcoming marriages

Mr M.G. Arnold and Miss H. Gibbin. The engagement is announced between Mark, younger son of Mrs C.J. Arnold, of Norwich, Norfolk, and Mr A. Arnold, of Little Ellingham, Norfolk, and Hilda, elder daughter of Dr and Mrs B. Gibbin, of Headington, Oxford.

Mr R.P.L.E. Chambers and Miss J.A. Doyle. The engagement is announced between Rourden, son of Michael Chambers, London, and Anne Chambers, Oxford, and Julian, daughter of Kenneth and Eileen Doyle, Cavendish, Suffolk.

Mr A.B. Mackay and Miss D.J.G. Gurr. The engagement is announced between Andrew, son of the late Revd B.S. and Mrs Mackay, and stepson of Mr P.R. Sykes, of Bristol, and Deborah, youngest daughter of Mr and Mrs A.J. Gurr, of Hornchurch, Essex.

Mr D.M. Lockett and Miss A.S. Moss. The engagement is announced between Captain William Syms, Welsh Guards, younger son of the late Commander Dudley Syms and of Mrs Dudley Syms, Eastbrook House, Wickham, Hampshire, and Saskia, only daughter of the Reverend and Mrs Peter Moss, Foulsham, Norfolk.

Captain W.J. Syms and Miss A.S. Moss. The engagement is announced between Captain William Syms, Welsh Guards, younger son of the late Commander Dudley Syms and of Mrs Dudley Syms, Eastbrook House, Wickham, Hampshire, and Anna Luisa, only daughter of the late Charles Locatelli and of Mrs A. Locatelli, of Kensington.

Service dinners

Royal Tank Regiment General Sir Antony Walker. Representative Colonel Commandant Royal Tank Regiment present at the annual officers dinner held on Friday November 16, at the Royal Armoured Corps Officers' Mess in Bovington. Field Marshal Lord Carver, Lieutenant General Sir Alan Taylor, Lieutenant General Sir Richard Vickers, Major General R.E. Barron, Brigadier P.A.M. Gilruth and the Ven Peter Mallett were amongst those present.

RAF Airfield Constructors Air Chief Marshal Sir David Lee was the principal guest at the reunion dinner of the RAF Airfield Construction Officers' Association held on Saturday at the RAF Club. Mr J.G. Marrs, president, was in the chair.

Association of MBAs

The Association of MBAs London & South East Region met at the Naval & Military Club, Piccadilly for a presentation by John Flynn, head of marketing and development, ICL. Sixty-five people attended. Mr P. B. de T. Rose, regional chairman, presided.

Dinner

Garret Club A dinner took place on November 14, at Boode's, to mark the twentieth anniversary of the formation of the brokers' department of Hamleys Life Assurance Limited (now Allied Dunbar plc). Mr Daniel Carey, Mr Roger Cornick, Mr Richard Shakeshaft and Mr Michael Wilson, the four founding members, attended.

Middlesex Polytechnic Alumni

Middlesex Polytechnic Alumni Association Annual General Meeting will take place on Saturday, December 1. The speaker will be Sir Raymond Ricketts, Buffet lunch. Tickets are obtainable from Alumni Administrator 081-368 1299. All former students are welcome.

Mr Tom Stedman

A memorial service for the late Mr Tom Stedman will be held at Bembridge School on Sunday, December 2, at 2.30 pm, followed by tea. Please contact the school if you wish to be met from the ferry at Ryde.

Nature notes

THE FIRST song-thrushes are singing again on clear mornings, after a silence of three to four months. They are beginning to stake out their territories for next spring. Some song-thrushes, particularly female birds, have migrated to France or Ireland for the winter.

Birch woods in the south are full of redpolls, which are like small, plump finches with crimson foreheads. They hang upside down to get at the birch seeds, calling all the time with chattering or plaintive notes. Most of these birds have come down from the north; the redpolls that breed in the south have crossed to France and Belgium.

After the wind and rain, most trees are almost bare of leaves. A few ash-trees, weep-

Marriages

Mr G.C.A. Macartney and Mrs P.M. Roberts. The marriage took place quietly, on November 17, at the Church of Saint Nicholas, Lillingstone Deyrell, of George Charles Anthony Macartney, BSC, of London, Ontario, and Mrs Pauline Mary Roberts, of Lillingstone House, Lillingstone Deyrell, Buckinghamshire, the Rev Norman Thorpe officiated.

Mr J.G. Penfold and Miss G.M. Wyndham. The marriage took place on Saturday, November 17, in the Church of the Holy Rood, Ampney Crucis, of Mr Jimmy Penfold, son of the late Mr and Mrs Graham Penfold, to Miss Virginia Wyndham, young daughter of Mr Michael Wyndham and the late Mrs Sheila Wyndham, Canon Peter Jeffries officiated.

The bride, who was given in marriage by her father, was attended by Miss Courtney Hollis-Smart and Master Thomas Lytehorn. Mr Michael White was best man.

A reception was held at the home of the bride.

Mr C.F. Stakes and Miss E. Tanner. The marriage took place quietly, on October 27, 1990, in Chelsea, of Mr Christopher Stokes and Miss Eva Tanner.

Holborn Law Society

The following have been elected officers of Holborn Law Society for the ensuing year: President, Mr R.G. Subblefield; vice-presidents, Mr J.B. Gough and Mr D.E. Long.

Anniversaries

BIRTHS: Charles I, reigned 1625-49; Dunfermline, 1600; Bertie Thorwald, sculptor, Copenhagen, 1770; James Card, 20th president of the USA 1881; Orange Grove, 1831; Paul Hindenburg, German, 1895; Indira Gandhi, prime minister of India 1966-77, 1980-84; Alshabib, 1917.

DEATHS: Nicholas Poussin, painter, Rome, 1665; Thomas Shadwell, dramatist, London, 1692; Theodore Wolfe, Tone, Irish patriot, committed suicide, Dublin, 1798; Franz Schubert, composer, Vienna, 1828; Sir William Siemens, metallurgist, London, 1883.

President Lincoln delivered a speech at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, saying "government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth", 1863.

Appointments

Latest appointments include: Mr John Vaux to be Principal Assistant Solicitor to the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, and Legal Adviser to the Cabinet Office, European Secretariat.

Professor John M. Anderson and Mr Peter Worthington to be members of the council of the Bank Board of Agreement.

Mr John Baker to be a member of the Meat and Livestock Commission from December 1. He replaces Mr Howard Marshall.

OBITUARIES

LADY OGILVIE

Lady Ogilvie, principal of St Anne's College, Oxford, from 1953 to 1965, died on November 10 aged 90. She was born on March 22, 1900.



A REMARKABLE woman who unquestionably subordinated the first half of her adult life to that of her husband, the distinguished academic Sir Frederick Ogilvie, Mary Ogilvie created after his death an eminent career for herself as principal of an Oxford college and as a driving force in the field of higher education for women. Her foresight and tenacity forged a new administrative structure for St Anne's College, as well as giving it new buildings, including a dining hall and residential quarters. All of this helped to create coherence and an image for St Anne's as a serious and progressive college, and one which in the years of her stewardship had the most relaxed women's senior common room in Oxford. Yet this was achieved by a woman who remained proud to the end of her more traditional feminine accomplishments, bearing and rearing children. No one who chanced on this modest, kindly, soft-spoken Scots-woman when she was proudly showing photographs of her grandchildren around, would have guessed at the more progressive side of her achievements.

Mary Ogilvie was the eldest of six daughters of the Rev Professor A.B. Macaulay, a Presbyterian minister turned academic theologian. From her training as a daughter of the manse she drew her unwavering standards and strong sense of purpose. From her father's advanced views on the subject of women's education she grew up in an atmosphere in which it was expected that she and her sisters should go to university.

She went to St George's, Edinburgh, and Somerville College, Oxford, where she graduated in modern history in 1922. She was one of an able post-first world war generation of women that included Vera Brittain, Dorothy Sayers, Winifred Holtby and May McKissack. But immediately after graduating she married Frederick Wolff,

Ogilvie, then a young don at Balliol College, thus abandoning plans to go on to further research. Instead she settled down to the life and duties of a don's wife, first at Balliol and then at Trinity College. When her husband was appointed to the chair of economics at Edinburgh University she moved with him back to Scotland. The next stop was Queen's University, Belfast, where he became vice-chancellor in 1934. Her distinctive contribution as a vice-chancellor's wife was acknowledged years later when Queen's University gave her an honorary LLD in 1960. Her priceless gift of being able to bring an intelligent layman's approach to social problems led to her membership of the Royal Commission on Population from 1944 to 1949. By now with three children herself she became convinced of the importance of pre-school education and served as chairman of the Nursery Schools Association. After a period in London

when her husband was director general of the BBC, she moved back into the academic world in 1944, when he became principal of Jesus College, Oxford. Then a double tragedy overtook her. Her second son, James, was killed while climbing in the Alps in 1948, and her husband died aged 56 the following year. For the next four years she was at Leeds University, tutoring women students. These years gave her the detailed experience of administration and of the machinery of student grants and student courses which stood her in such good stead at Oxford. Thus, when in 1953 she was invited back there to be principal of St Anne's College she was well equipped for the tasks ahead of her. St Anne's had received its charter of incorporation as a college the previous year. It was embarking on a period of radical change. One of the new principal's first acts was to sign the cheque purchasing the freehold of the houses on the south side of Bevington Road.

SIR ARTHUR DAVIES

maths and physics at University College, Cardiff, and joined the Meteorological Office in 1936. During the second world war he served in the meteorological branch of the RAFVR in France, Norway and Iceland. In February 1945 he went to Yalta with the prime minister's team and set up a weather forecasting service for the conference.

In 1949 Davies became director of the East African meteorological department and in the next few years acquired a full understanding of the need for international cooperation in meteorology and of the difficulties encountered by developing countries in the organisation of their meteorological ser-

vices. He was elected president of WMO's regional association for Africa in 1951 and four years later he became secretary-general of WMO, an appointment which was renewed every four years by the congress of WMO. On his retirement WMO granted him the title of secretary-general emeritus.

He played a key role in the developments that have taken place in the science and international organisation of meteorology in the past 40 years. Major programmes, such as world weather watch, the global atmosphere research programme, and the world climate programme all of which make extensive use of advanced technology, owe

much to his vision, drive and administrative ability. In promoting these and other programmes Davies made frequent visits to the member countries of WMO and was held in high esteem by many heads of government. He received numerous honorary doctorates and was awarded the United Nations peace medal.

During his retirement he continued attending meetings and lecturing. A few months before his death WMO published a historical review of its first four decades, an undertaking of which Davies was editor and principal author.

He leaves his widow, Mary, and their son and two daughters.

Charles Douglas-Home Award

Vicarage study of religious beliefs

BY ALAN HAMILTON

THE Canadian-born wife of a north London vicar has won this year's Charles Douglas-Home Award for her proposal to conduct detailed research into how much religious belief still has an influence on secular British life.

Mrs Rosalie Osmond, aged 48, of Edgware, will receive a grant of up to £15,000 from the Charles Douglas-Home Memorial Trust, established in memory of a former editor of *The Times*, who died of cancer in 1985. The trust gives annual awards for significant original research projects in areas nominated by its trustees.

This year the trustees invited proposals for a study of the nature and exercise of religious influence in British life, whether at local or national level, and involving any or all religions. They noted that while religious leaders still claimed to speak for the community at large, and were widely quoted in the media, the number of Anglican churchgoers had declined into statistical insignificance. At the same time, some minority religious groups, such as British Muslims, continued to follow their creed with a fervour uncharacteristic of the established church.

Mrs Osmond, a part-time tutor in English literature at Birkbeck College, London University, and the mother of three children, said yesterday that the award would make it financially possible for her to undertake a project she had very much wanted to do.

"I intend to investigate the extent to which British culture

and moral attitudes are, at least subliminally, still Christian," Mrs Osmond said. "I shall be commissioning a Gallup poll to discover what knowledge people still have of Christian music and literature, and to what extent their lives are still governed by Christian principles. I shall also be reading novels and plays of the last decade to see, not simply whether they are in any way Christian in content, but whether they show an attitude to life that is purposeful."

Her own religious attitudes, she said, were determined by being brought up in the strongly Lutheran background of Nova Scotia, being deeply impressed by King's College Chapel, Cambridge, and other trappings of Anglicanism on her first visit to Britain in 1964, and finding that attitudes seemed to have changed significantly when she returned to live here in 1981.

Sir Edward Cazalet, chairman of the Douglas-Home trustees, said that this year's award had attracted a considerable number of highly distinguished applicants, but that Mrs Osmond's proposal had been the most interesting and original.

"There is no doubt that our society still continues to be influenced by Christian customs and beliefs, even though the actual practice of the Christian faith has so declined. Mrs Osmond's survey should establish the extent to which religious belief remains an important influence. I suspect the results of her research may well prove to be startling," Sir Edward said.

Adjoining freeholds were bought all round the site and adapted for living quarters, replacing the scattered hostels and concentrating the students. The dining hall was built.

St Anne's had hardly drawn level with the other women's colleges in achieving incorporation when they decided to press forward to the status of full foundation and once again the college joined the race. In all these negotiations Lady Ogilvie led the college with a sense of timing and a sure judgement. She conducted negotiations with the University Grants Committee with great skill. She guided the long debates from which emerged new statutes and by-laws. She saw the great potentialities of the college site and initiated an overall plan for a building programme to last many years. She initiated the Balliol/St Anne's scheme for a joint graduate institute. Her statesmanship in college development brought her on to committees of the University Grants Committee and planning boards of the new universities. She served a notable term of office on Hebdomadal Council and was a prime mover in the project for graduate flats with an accompanying nursery school.

It was her one regret that her success as an administrator and the tasks she faced in that role prevented her from knowing the undergraduates as well as she would have liked. Yet people always mattered to her most. She was always accessible and steadfast in her doctrine that a principal's job was primarily with people, not administration. Her house was a refuge for all and a place of hospitality.

After her retirement, Lady Ogilvie was a member of the Archbishops' Commission on Church and State from 1967 to 1970, a service which embodied her double commitment to the faith of her Scottish upbringing and her later Anglicanism. Her later years were clouded by the tragic death of her youngest son, Robert, which she bore with fortitude and dignity.

She leaves one son, David.

much to his vision, drive and administrative ability. In promoting these and other programmes Davies made frequent visits to the member countries of WMO and was held in high esteem by many heads of government. He received numerous honorary doctorates and was awarded the United Nations peace medal.

During his retirement he continued attending meetings and lecturing. A few months before his death WMO published a historical review of its first four decades, an undertaking of which Davies was editor and principal author.

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To exhibitions

S. Carrick, *Harrow Cone*, S. South

D. Chisholm, *St. George's*

J. Clegg, *St. John's*



1 Pennington Street, London E1 9XN Telephone 071-782 5000

THE PEACE OF PARIS

In 1919 the Treaty of Versailles marked the end of the "war to end wars" and sowed the seeds of its successor. At the end of another terrible war, Soviet troops mopped up Eastern Europe like a sponge, forcing the Western members of the alliance to accept the division of Europe into two armed blocs. There was no peace in Europe, no treaty, merely Yalta, war by a different name.

Can permanent peace in Europe at last be celebrated today at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe in Paris? Unfortunately not. In burying the Yalta status quo, the popular revolutions in central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union itself have unleashed local, national and regional tensions, fed by ethnic rivalries, disputed borders and the fragility of remnant democratic processes. These instabilities, though preferable to Yalta's sleep of the living dead, make the celebration of continental peace premature. Generosity and imagination will be needed if poverty is not to replace ideology as the new East-West divide. There may even be moments when the equilibrium of mutual deterrence is recalled with secret nostalgia.

That should not diminish what has been achieved. The CSCE brings together the leaders of 34 countries to sign a whole range of agreements formally interring the Cold War and laying down markers for the future. It began work in the 1970s as a modest venture with apparently irreconcilable objectives.

The Soviet Union participated because Leonid Brezhnev wanted a forum to legitimise Soviet domination over the Eastern bloc and confirm the division of Germany. The West took part in the hope of eliciting formal undertakings to respect individual human rights. Even after the signature of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975, no government expected greatness to be thrust on the CSCE. Yet as change swept the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the Helsinki process provided an all-important bridge to the post-Cold War world.

The agreements to be signed this week fall into two parts, military and political. The first commits the 22 members of Nato and the

disintegrating Warsaw Pact. The second applies to all 34 countries, including such minnows as Liechtenstein and San Marino. A joint declaration by the two alliances that they are "no longer adversaries" is intended to bury the Cold War. The treaty reducing conventional forces in Europe (CFE) is intended to prevent its recurrence.

The CFE treaty may codify what was happening anyway, but is still the most detailed arms control agreement ever negotiated. A third agreement will give all 34 states the right to object to "unusual military activity" and to take disputes to a new conflict prevention centre.

The political coping stone of this pan-European accord will be the declaration which Mrs. Thatcher described last August as Europe's Magna Carta. This is a joint affirmation of the principles to which the "new Europe" will be dedicated - human rights, the rule of law, and economic and environmental co-operation. The declaration will also establish a permanent CSCE secretariat and an office to help countries to organise elections.

So far, so worthy. The proposed Assembly of Europe, however, is a piece of institutional inflation. Far from helping to build the "common European home" dear to Mikhail Gorbachev, it overlaps with the Council of Europe, a perfectly serviceable existing structure for monitoring observance of human rights.

The CSCE is a forum for conciliation which should keep its goals and institutional ambitions in proportion. The two old Western clubs, Nato and the European Community, remain the foundations on which European stability will be built. The CSCE merely adds an elegant architectural flourish. But in a transition period full of dangers, a club open to the new eastern democracies has immense value. The CSCE has important work to do to further the eastward expansion of democracy and of free market ideals. It symbolises the hope that the human rights and rule of law for which it stands will quickly take deep root.

THE VIRTUES OF CHOICE

Lord Home of the Hirsel is frequently mocked as the prime minister who used matchsticks to work out economic policy. The rules for the election of the Tory leader which he bequeathed to the party belie that reputation. They are a creation of mathematical and political subtlety. Their aim is to secure a regular opportunity for the parliamentary party to consider whether it has the leader it really wants. The British constitution, an uncodified democracy, needs such checks and balances against "elective dictatorship". They offer a regular re-legitimisation of power. Whoever emerges as victor tomorrow or in subsequent ballots will be the stronger for it.

In the first round of voting, two tests have to be met for victory. The leading candidate needs a simple majority among those entitled to vote; with 372 MPs eligible, that requires 187 votes. The winner also needs a total vote at least 15 per cent higher than that of the nearest rival. If no MP abstains, 214 votes would be needed to win.

These rules ease the challenger's path. The power of patronage and the habit of loyalty both work to the advantage of the party's leader. This is especially true when he or she is also the country's prime minister. If all that were needed was to get more votes than anyone else — or as some have proposed an election only after a general election defeat — the incumbent would be given altogether too much advantage.

Michael Heseltine's most confident supporters have not claimed that he will win on first ballot. Had the rules simply promised victory to the candidate who obtained most votes, he would have been much less likely to run. The criticism of Mrs Thatcher's leadership would have continued without resolution, damaging both party and country. Under the present rules, Mr Heseltine felt encouraged to challenge. He knows that if he does reasonably well, he can force Mrs Thatcher into a second round, at which point, if she does badly, the pull of the loyalty to her that would be natural on the first ballot will be diminished.

On the second round, a simple majority is enough, but new candidates can enter the lists. This last provision has created the concept of the stalking horse, standing on the first ballot to pave the way for the real challenger to emerge. This is a perfectly useful device for ensuring that a result which shows that neither

candidate commands sufficient support can lead to a further contest. There needs to be a way for new challengers from among senior party figures to be freed from the loyalty constraint if the existing leader has lost support. Douglas Hurd or John Major or Kenneth Baker should be entitled to enter the running without being penalised for not challenging the leader on the first round. Had they stood on Tuesday, their resignation from the cabinet would have been inevitable in the event of a Thatcher victory.

A thus enlarged field requires only a majority of those eligible to vote — 187 votes — for victory. If nobody gets this, the third ballot is confined to the leading three candidates. MPs this time have to number them in order. Those whose first choice comes third will have their votes transferred to their second choice. The candidate with the most votes — not necessarily a majority of those entitled to vote — is declared the winner.

Those who would like Mrs Thatcher out, without wanting Mr Heseltine in — for instance, the supporters of Douglas Hurd — are going through tactical agonies. On the surface, the most effective way to stop Mrs Thatcher is to vote for Mr Heseltine, making it less likely that she will achieve the necessary 15 per cent lead. However, if too many follow that advice, Mr Heseltine may himself win on first ballot, or at least obtain an unstoppable momentum — as Mrs Thatcher did in 1975. That, however, does not account for Mrs Thatcher's declared determination to stay in the race as long as she can, defying Messrs Hurd and Major to continue with their support for her and not renege on their promise not to stand against her. In these terms, an abstention is as good as a vote for Mr Heseltine and might as well be used that way.

Some Conservative MPs have been complaining about these procedures. They dress up their objections in constitutional pompos, as if the election were a usurpation of Crown or parliamentary prerogative. This is romantic nonsense. There is no freehold on Downing Street. If the Conservative party wants to offer a new leader to the public — on which *The Times* will give a view tomorrow — it is free to do so. The way it has chosen, supplanting the smoke-filled rooms and committee house grandees with a parliamentary ballot, may be tough but it is sound.

TOO EARLY FOR SCROOGE

At the height of his attacks on monetarism in the 1970s, Lord Kaldor, the great Keynesian economist, noted a curious statistical phenomenon. Year after year, the nation's money supply surged in November and December, only to fall back again in January. "At last," declared Lord Kaldor, "I have discovered the cause of Christmas." As the winter merchandising season stretches back into November and now even October, it is becoming increasingly apparent that Lord Kaldor may have been more right than he thought.

Cause and effect have, indeed, been completely confounded in what is left of the Christmas spirit. The cause of the December shopping orgy may not be the growth of the money supply, but it certainly has more to do with crass materialism than with spiritual devotion or even simple human kindness.

Among spiritual puritans, therefore, the news that Britain's retailers are expecting their worst Christmas for ten years may be greeted with a smile. In Downing Street, however, the prospect of a disastrous Christmas selling season may not be such a joke. The two months before Christmas account for 22 per cent of a typical year's entire retail sales.

As the economy falls into its first recession for half a generation, how will people react to their first recessionary Christmas? Will they cut back on the most discretionary of all non-

essential spending? Will a collapse of consumer confidence push the economy into a full-scale slump, as retailers cancel their orders from wholesalers, manufacturers are unable to dispose of stocks, workers are laid off, consumer spending falls further in the next twist of the vicious circle of cumulative economic decline? Will the nation's stockings hang empty at the bedside?

These are the current pre-Christmas nightmares. But on December 14, just seven shopping days before Christmas, the government will have an ideal opportunity to cut interest rates by another percentage point. The retail price index published that day will show inflation falling from the fearsome 10.9 per cent rate reported last Friday to a merely alarming level somewhere between 9.5 and 9.9 per cent. This improvement in inflation can be predicted with almost complete assurance because of the cuts in mortgage rates and petrol prices which have already occurred in the last few weeks.

Despite the warnings of the Scrooges, therefore, a late high street spending spree can by no means be ruled out. Those who predict a grim Christmas this year are speaking too soon. They have forgotten that the spirit of the modern commercial Christmas — the essence of the festive illusion — is to live now and pay later. But the January sales will be grim.

Transfer of education costs to centre

From Mr Malcolm Thornton, MP for Crosby (Conservative)

Sir, Michael Heseltine's proposal (reports, November 15, 16) to switch, over a period of time, more of the cost of education from local to central government has a good pedigree. Sir Keith Joseph in 1982 put to the cabinet a proposal for local authorities to receive an earmarked 75 per cent education grant. He argued not only that this would significantly reduce the level of the rates, which would have saved in the upheaval and huge cost of the community charge system, but also would "have a clear benefit for the education service".

The reason had been obvious for years: compared with other services with a national dimension, notably the police, there was no means by which the secretary of state could "directly encourage initiatives in areas of national priority".

Although we have diverted a tiny sum of money for direct initiatives since then, it is still the case that the education secretary has to rely primarily on exhortation, to which local authorities do not always respond.

There are, in fact, dramatic differences in the spending of local authorities: the highest spend almost twice as much as the lowest. Many initiatives in education have had to be taken by other departments, such as the Department of Employment and the Training Agency.

The progressive transfer of funding to the centre is now the logical continuation of the existing government policy of devolving financial management to each school and the prime minister's

desire to see the majority of schools opting out of local authority control. One may be able to reach a position by which funds are directed straight to schools, cutting local authority bureaucracy and costs. National priorities, standards in the more deprived areas and greater choice for schools to develop distinctive areas of excellence would all be promoted.

The prime minister's calculation of the cost is based on a wrong assumption. For many years the amount raised locally for education has been 40 per cent of the community charge system, but also would involve just over 2p. If the change were to be made in one go — and Mr Heseltine has said he will not do that.

Growth for 1991-2, the first year in which any switch could be made, is forecast at 2 per cent (some £4 billion); so over the period of a parliament the change-over could occur without increasing taxes, depending of course on the views of the cabinet.

Mr Heseltine's proposals should therefore be seen as both reducing the bills for a national service which fails appropriately on local charge payers and as a means of enhancing the standards and diversity of the state education system. It is therefore fully in line with Conservative government thinking.

Yours faithfully,
MALCOLM THORNTON
(Chairman, Select Committee on Education, Science and the Arts, House of Commons.)

Loyalty, self-interest and the Tories

From Lord Tombs of Brailes and others

Sir, We write as business men with major responsibilities for the future industrial and economic prosperity of our country. In this capacity, we are distressed that some Conservative members of Parliament should be contemplating, at this moment, a change in the leadership of the party.

The prime minister is a dedicated leader who has achieved an enormous amount for Britain and for British business over the last decade. Businessmen, their customers and shareholders, all realise this. The commercial and economic welfare of this country has been in the safest hands with her government. Its record is a proud one. This challenge is a grave diversion that should be defeated as soon as possible, so that the real problems the government is facing can be dealt with as efficiently as they have been over the last eleven years.

We urge Conservative members of Parliament to heed this essential fact to enable the prime minister, with the fullest endorsement of the party, to continue her work for the future of businesses and jobs in this country.

Yours etc.,
TOMBS OF BRAILES (Rolls Royce), ROBERT BAUMAN (Bechtel Group), C. R. CORNELL (Redland), JOHN CUNNINGHAM (Si Group), CHARLES FORTE (Trotter's Food), R. HALSTEAD (British Steel Corporation), HANSON (Hanson plc), ERNEST T. HARRISON (Racial Electronics), KING (British Airways), IAN MACGREGOR (Lazard Brothers), PATRICK MEANEY (The Rank Organisation), EVELYN de ROTHSCHILD (N. M. Rothschild & Sons), N. M. SHAW (Tate & Lyle), GARRY WESTON (Associated British Foods), GORDON WHITE (Hanson Industries), Honington Lodge, Honington, Warwickshire. November 17.

From Sir John Wheeler, MP for Westminster North (Conservative), and others

Sir, As Conservative backbench members of Parliament with seats which Labour would have to win to form a government, we are surprised at the claim made by Michael Heseltine that young people are inspired by his version of the future of Europe.

The truth is that there is very little enthusiasm for Mr Heseltine's form of European integration, especially within the more junior ranks of his own party. Instead we, as younger Tories, are attracted by the prime minister's vision of an entire continent of sovereign states united by a common commitment to democracy and free trade.

Mr Heseltine's hard-headed approach may annoy those who prefer to ignore difficulties and revel in lofty rhetoric, but she has consistently achieved more for Europe than her opponents.

Politicians who claim to be the voice of the future should always be treated with scepticism, but insofar as the views of our members can be collectively expressed there is no doubt that the ideals that motivate us are those of Margaret Thatcher.

Yours sincerely,
MARK MacGREGOR (Chairman, National Association of Conservative Graduates), **JAMES SMELEY** (National Director, Conservative Students), **ANDREW TINNEY** (Chairman, National Young Conservatives), 42 Arundel Close, SW1. November 18.

From Mr Jonathan Naughton

Sir, As one who believes that Britain's natural party of government is a liberal Tory one, a gravitation which accounts for the swings in political allegiance between left and right, I find it staggering that normally self-interested Tory MPs are so blinkered by their ideology that they appear not to have seen the opportunity now before them.

The British people now require rather more enlightened self-interest from their MPs. Those who are fortunate enough to have this opportunity must work positively to capture the centre ground of British politics for the next decade.

Mr Heseltine's sound management and initiative are capable of both continuing the best of what has been achieved over the last 11 years and providing a counterbalance to the lack of reason which, unless tackled now, will rightly lose the Conservatives the next election and the British people the opportunity to avoid an unproductive journey toward the left of the political spectrum.

Yours faithfully,
JONATHAN NAUGHTON, 12 Heame Road, Chipwick, W4. November 16.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Medical beds for Gulf casualties

From Colonel R. M. Hector, RAMC (red)

Sir, With the very real prospect of war in the Middle East, concern has been expressed in many quarters about the availability of hospital beds for treating our casualties. This problem has been recognised by the Ministry of Defence and the converted helicopter training ship Argus has been despatched.

It is not timely that her Majesty's yacht Britannia, built with the dual purpose of hospital ship and royal yacht, and paid for out of the defence budget costing over £9 million per annum, be immediately converted to her other chief role? Not once in 37 years has she fulfilled this.

Britannia was not sent to the south Atlantic in 1982. Instead, over 800 children on a Mediterranean educational cruise were taken off the liner Uganda and it acted as a hospital ship.

Where is the yacht today? Until recently she was worthily serving British business in Rio de Janeiro — not too far for recall: witness the voyage of Canberra to the Falklands, requisitioned within a few days in 1982. If Britannia is not sent now, then when? If she is never to fulfil her hospital ship role should she continue to be a drain on a constrained defence budget?

It would be a scandal if Britannia is kept away from where she would be of most value to our servicemen.

Yours faithfully,
DAVID JORY, The Old House, Michelmersh, Hampshire.

to use diplomacy to bring our civilians home and even avoid war. In that case we will have learned something from our own history and the government's art grant will be money well spent.

Yours etc.,
BRIAN BOUGHTON, 63 Fitz Roy Avenue, Harborne, Birmingham 17.

From Lieutenant-Colonel Lionel Gregory

Sir, Would it not be reasonable to expect the many eminent people paying court to President Saddam Hussein — which he undoubtedly enjoys and turns to his own advantage — to consider calling on the Emir of Kuwait to hear what he, and his country, think about their initiatives?

Yours faithfully,
LIONEL GREGORY, 1 Lennox Street, Edinburgh. November 9.

Sex education

From the General Secretary of the Professional Association of Teachers

Sir,

Contrary to the impression given by Mary Ann Sieghart ("Never too young for the facts of life", October 30), those of us who question the activities of the sex-education industry are not opposed to sex education in principle. We are concerned about what is being offered to children, and by whom.

Miss Sieghart writes that, in any class, some children will believe that sex before marriage is immoral, while others will regard it as perfectly acceptable. She goes on to say that teachers can encourage children not to be shy about holding the former view.

Why should it be assumed that young people will be shy about holding fast to traditional moral values? Sex education gets far beyond the parameters of human biology. It has to do with the most profound attitudes and values affecting our society.

What is offered to children in school must be subject to close scrutiny. Those of us who dare to say so have the support of the vast majority of the nation's parents. Yours faithfully,

PETER DAWSON, General Secretary, Professional Association of Teachers, 2 St James's Court, Finsbury, EC4. November 18.

Cost of eating out

From Dr N. A. Power

Sir, Recently we entertained to Sunday lunch at a French provincial restaurant near our house in the Charente. Arriving at the table there were a bottle each of red and dry white wine, both excellent, a dish of prawns, tomato salad and a very good terrine in a large terracotta. Three of us had six oysters each, the chunky type but excellent, followed by moules marinières and roast beef in an excellent sauce; then there was a guinea fowl with a dressed salad and fried potatoes.

At that stage one of the waitresses, seeing our wine bottles were pretty well empty, replaced them with full ones, unasked. Then followed a choice of several cheeses and dessert and coffee. The total cost, service included, although of course I left a tip, was 380 francs; at 9.70 to the pound, approximately £40 for four people.

Polys put their mettle on

Polytechnics are celebrating their 21st anniversary and fighting for parity with universities. John O'Leary looks at the battle plans

Higher education's anniversary season continues today. After last week's silver jubilee of the new universities, it is the turn of the polytechnics, which are celebrating 21 years with National Polytechnics Week.

The 32 institutions believe the Nineties will be their decade and are slow to tell anybody who will listen. Although most activities during the next five days will be light-hearted and devoted to the Children in Need appeal, the polytechnics are on the offensive, determined to make the most of what they see as a public-relations advantage over the universities.

Less than a decade ago, they found that an embarrassingly low proportion of MPs knew what went on in polytechnics. Now they have glowing messages of support from the Prince of Wales, Margaret Thatcher and Neil Kinnock. They hope this week will help to raise the profile still further and ensure that their status as the government's favourite higher education sector will be translated into hard cash.

This month's autumn statement on public spending was promising, giving a bigger budget increase for polytechnics and colleges than universities, but the polytechnic directors are looking for more.

John Stoddart, their chairman, eschewed the moderate line taken by the universities after the announcement, insisting that their budgets would not be big enough to "patch the leaks in our roofs".

The budget increase of 10.5 per cent for polytechnics and colleges should cover the immediate expansion in student numbers and ensure that funding will slip no further. Ten per cent more students are expected this year, repeating the 1989 increase.

As fees are going up again and the funding system is geared to growth, it is certain that recruitment will be strong again in 1991.

Capital spending will also begin to take off at last, £35 million having been added to the government's planned total for 1991-92. Yet even the £128 million set aside for capital and equipment

Middlesex Polytechnic

Meet Britain's top player Jo Durie here on Sunday 18 November. Great entertainment with tennis clinic, demos, fun matches, and

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for details or to book your place.

Time for clowning: but the light-heartedness at Middlesex Polytechnic masks serious objectives.

'Surely it is now indefensible that the funds received by an institution to teach students on similar courses to a similar level should vary depending on an institutional title'

tors to realise the ambitious development plans they will be outlining this week, they will illustrate the freedom of action the polytechnics sought in breaking away from local authorities. Having made sure that they can cope with independence, they see an opportunity to cash in on the disarray in university planning.

Although deals of this sort will not themselves enable the direc-

their record of expansion and increased efficiency. John MacGregor, in his last message to them as education secretary, even felt moved to assure polytechnic governors that he meant what he said in his congratulations for the coming week. Unit costs have dropped by about a quarter in recent years, and the inspectors have found no reduction in quality so far.

Lecturers' union officials, who

will stage the second day of strikes in their pay dispute during the week, say this is unrealistic. They talk of seminar groups the size of primary school classes in some polytechnics and salute the universities for resisting such large groups.

The directors, too, acknowledge

that staffing ratios cannot increase indefinitely without quality suffer-

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Women who flower by degrees

More women are climbing the career ladder by obtaining degrees in business management, but they still find it difficult being masters in a man's world. Geraldine Bedell reports

Cathy Andrews has a message for all women who want to read for the increasingly popular management degree, the Master of Business Administration: "Don't leave it too late."

She was 32 when she finished her degree at the London Business School and found her age was already a disadvantage. She says: "Those employers who wanted MBAs — a lot thought it was irrelevant and just made people arrogant — wanted a certain kind of MBA, and specified somebody under 28, or with particular previous experience, as if the degree had not changed anything."

The management degree can offer a route into highly paid, traditionally male jobs, in previously forbidden areas, and can catapult a woman on to the fast track of senior management in anything from manufacturing to the health service.

That, at least, is the sales pitch. Women MBAs stress that courses are not always perfect, that you do not necessarily double your salary when you come out, that you may not even find getting a job easy. But it is hard to find anybody who regrets having done the course.

Ann Parkinson originally trained as a teacher without getting a degree. She took a two-year part-time MBA, which she felt would add weight to her curriculum vitae. "It was important personally and for career advancement, given my teaching background," she says. "It is a useful way of learning a lot about different areas of business in a concentrated period. I realise that there are areas that I did not think I knew anything about, which I actually know quite a lot about, and skills I have that are transferable."

Women now make up 19 per cent of MBA graduates of British university business schools, and the schools themselves are mushrooming. There are 2,500 full-time, 2,700 part-time and 1,800 distance-learning places this year. Some, inevitably, rate far more highly than others. It is said that a year at Insead, the European business administration institute outside Paris, will provide enough contacts to last a lifetime.

The London Business School and Manchester University started British MBA courses more than 20 years ago. Other universities have gradually followed, and there are also courses at management colleges such as Cranfield, in Bedfordshire, Ashridge, in Hertfordshire, and at



Making the grade: "Men have to get used to working alongside and for women," says Cathy Andrews

sufficiently appealing to women. Ms Andrews finished at the London Business School in 1986. "Things might be different now, but then women were ignored," she says. "Case studies were all about men. They were the role models. There was a feeling that you were there on their terms only. There was no discussion of female management methods, about seeing the whole person. You had to be interested in global strategy development only, not personal issues."

It was a shame, because there were brilliant people in my year who had absolutely no common sense. And men have to get used to working alongside and for women."

There are signs that this may be changing or at least that there are good intentions. Laurence Handy, the director of studies at Ashridge Management College, says men benefit from having women on MBA courses.

He says: "They learn so much about relationships, about a new style of caring, and about how important these issues really are to the working woman's life. The more domineering man may be surprised to see there are other ways of working."

Britain, it seems, is unlikely just yet to become like the United States, where job advertisements often demand an MBA. The degree is undoubtedly becoming a better understood and more highly prized qualification, and increasing numbers of women are likely to want one, not least because women have tended to have more erratic careers than men, and to have started thinking about making money later.

Perhaps, eventually, Mr Handy's view that senior management should reflect not only the workforce but also society will prevail, and many women MBAs will be running large corporations.

• *A Chance for the Top*, by Carol Dix, Bantam Press (£12.95 hardback, £7.95 paperback).

EDUCATIONAL

UNIVERSITY APPOINTMENTS

Continued from previous page

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

TEMPORARY UNIVERSITY LECTURESHIP IN MEDIEVAL GERMAN

Applications are invited for the above post to be filled from 1 January 1991 or as soon as possible thereafter. The appointment is until 31 December 1991. Stipend according to age on the scale £12,086-£23,819 per annum.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Secretary, Board of the Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages, 37 Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JF, to whom applications (seven typed copies, one from overseas candidates) should be sent by 30 November 1990. Candidates should ask two referees to write in confidence to the Secretary of the board by that date.

The University is an Equal Opportunity Employer

THE QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY OF BELFAST

VISITING FELLOWSHIPS, STUDENTSHIPS AND BURSARIES 1991-92

The following Visiting Fellowships, Studentships and Bursaries will be available at this University for 1991-92:

Visiting Fellowships
Candidates are free to select field of research and should have already secured research to at least doctoral standard. Salary range: £11,309-£14,236 plus allowances. Closing date: 1 February 1991.

Visiting Studentships
For good honours students another opportunity with research experience to undertake research in any field of study. Value: £4,070 per annum plus travel allowance and fees, taxable for 1-3 months. Closing date: 1 February 1991.

(ODA) Shared Scholarships Scheme (ODASS)
Awards are also available for students from developing Commonwealth countries for taught postgraduate courses. (Covers travel, tuition fees and maintenance). Closing date: 2 March 1991.

Riddell Hall Bursaries

Riddell Hall was originally a privately endowed women's hall of residence and has since been built within the University of Belfast. Under the terms of the original endowment, Riddell Hall is available free of charge to bursary holders, normally for a period of three terms with the possibility of renewals for a further period. Up to five bursaries will be available annually for undergraduate students at the University, or postgraduate students. An undergraduate or graduate student from another university or college who is accepted onto a taught postgraduate course for a period of study or research at the University will also be eligible. Bursary under the terms of the Trust will be given to the student. Closing date: 10 April 1991.

Application forms and further particulars from: Academic Council Office, The Queen's University of Belfast, BELFAST, BT7 1NN.

EDUCATIONAL STUDENTS

Awards in Agricultural Economics

The Milk Marketing Board offers scholarships to graduates of UK universities who wish to study for a further degree or diploma in Agricultural Economics or undertake research work in this subject. The awards for the academic year 1991/92 will be not less than £7,020 (from which fees are payable) and are tenable for one year only. Extension will be granted for a further period, only if the Committee approves the proposed research when considering the application. The awards are unconditional as regards subsequent careers.

Applicants may have graduated in any discipline, but preference will be given to those with degrees (First or Upper Second Class Honours or equivalent qualifications) in agriculture, economics, social sciences or business studies.

Further particulars and application forms can be obtained by writing to: The Secretary, Awards in Agricultural Economics, Milk Marketing Board, Thames Ditton, Surrey KT7 0EL, quoting reference ST. Applications must be returned to the Secretary not later than 31 January 1991.

Salary Scale £23,423 - £26,471 p.a. plus £1,767 London Allowance.

Applications (10 copies) should be submitted to Mr G.L.A. Cuthbert, Deputy Personnel Officer, King's College London, Strand, London WC2R 2LS. Tel 01 837 3200. Further particulars should first be obtained.

Closing date: 31 January 1991.

SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE

Stanley Eason Senior Research Fellowships in the Medical Sciences

The College Council invites applications from men and women for the above Fellowships, which will be available for a period of three years, for the furtherance of medical research. The Fellowships will commence not later than 1 October 1991.

Stipends will amount to £16,755 per annum, with membership of the Governing Body and the usual Fellowship rights.

Particulars may be obtained from the Master, Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge CB2 3BS.

Applications should reach the Master NOT LATER THAN 31 DECEMBER 1990.

PREP & PUBLIC SCHOOLS

GYOSEI INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL

A JAPANESE BOARDING SCHOOL WITH BOYS AND GIRLS FROM AGE 10 TO 18 REQUIRES

TEACHERS, MATRON AND A SCHOOL NURSE

APPLICANTS SHOULD BE FLUENT IN JAPANESE AND HAVE THE NECESSARY QUALIFICATIONS

salary commensurate with age and experience

PLEASE WRITE TO THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATOR

MICHELL STREET, WILLEN PARK, MELTON MOWBRAY, LEICS.

State schools tempt the private payers

Many parents, worried by inflation, are watching closely the changing structures of government education

Independent schools are fighting two battles: rising fees at a time of high interest rates and rising standards in state schools, which could cream off some of their recruits. Fee-paying schools now educate 7 per cent of the school population but come into their own in the sixth forms, in which they take 20 per cent of high-flyers preparing for university.

Fees are rising by about 10 per cent a year. Only 25 per cent of parents plan ahead for school fees. Fifty-seven per cent pay fees out of salary and about 23 per cent of pupils are helped with scholarships, bursaries and the government's assisted places scheme. Families with a gross income of less than £20,000 account for 20 per cent of independent pupils, £20,000 to £30,000 for 23 per cent and £30,000 to £40,000 for 21 per cent. In the present tough economic conditions, parents may be more prepared to give state schools a chance if they consider standards are rising and that schools are offering the same sort of education in a good atmosphere.

Supporters of schools that have opted out of local authority control and are receiving their money directly from the education department claim that this is what is best for children is the wider variety and the much better school atmosphere created by these reforms, so I yield not an inch when local authorities and some chief education officers tell me that grant-maintained schools and city technology colleges are making it difficult for us.

The reforms might make life more difficult for the independent schools, which will have to look to their laurels if they are to stay part of the mainstream of education.

Growing competition from the state system may have to be tackled alongside the return of a Labour government. David Woodhead, the director of the Independent Schools Information Service, cannot hide his misgivings. "Even if Labour grudgingly accepts the existence of independent schools," he says, "it would prefer they did not exist. Labour should accept that choice should be capable of being exercised in the non-state sector by as wide a cross-section of the community as possible."

DAVID TYTLER

Law Report November 19 1990 Queen's Bench Division

Minister justified in allowing exports

Regina v Minister of Agriculture Fisheries and Food, Ex parte Roberts and Another

Regina v Same, Ex parte Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Before Mr Justice Popplewell [Judgment November 12]

The Minister for Agriculture Fisheries and Food had not misdirected himself in law or acted unreasonably in refusing to suspend the grant of licences for the export of live sheep to France following incidents in July during which French farmers attacked lorries destroying and injuring imported British sheep.

Mr Justice Popplewell so held in the Queen's Bench Division, in dismissing applications for judicial review of the minister's decision and in refusing to make declarations sought by Mr Peter Roberts and Compassion in World Farming, of which he was the director, and by the RSPCA.

Paragraph 3 of the Export of Animals (Protection) Order (SI 1981 No 1051) provides "(2) The appropriate minister in granting or refusing to grant a licence shall have regard to all factors connected with the welfare of the animals intended for export and in particular whether the appropriate minister shall not grant a licence unless he is satisfied that the arrangements for transporting the animals to their final destination are such

as to protect them from unnecessary suffering."

Mr Philip Engelhard and Mr Paul Epstein for Mr Roberts; Mr David Lloyd Jones for the RSPCA; Mr Stephen Richards for the minister.

MR JUSTICE POPPLEWELL said that it was the minister's case that the two limbs of paragraph 3(2) were to be looked at separately; that so far as the first limb was concerned the minister did not have to have regard generally to the welfare of animals, and that included attacks by third parties, but that the second limb related to the nuts and bolts in relation to the facts of the instant case.

He said that the phrase "arrangements for transporting the animals" was wide enough for it to encompass a situation where there might be some extreme element which affected the welfare of the animals during transport.

It seemed on first impression that the phrase "arrangements for transporting the animals" was wide enough for it to encompass a situation where there might be some extreme element which affected the welfare of the animals during transport.

If that had been the only matter, his Lordship would have held that a third-party attack did come within the regulation. However, looking at the paragraph as a whole and the rest of the order it was clear that the order related to what was properly described as the nuts and bolts.

The order implemented in part Council Directive 77/489/EEC of September 6, 1977 (OJ 1977 No L 200 p10).

It was submitted on appeal that the minister thereby abandoned his responsibility. They were perfectly proper steps which the minister was entitled to take; he was entitled to wait

for the French authorities to take steps to implement the Directive.

There was nothing to suggest that the minister thereby abandoned his responsibility. They were perfectly proper steps which the minister was entitled to wait

for him to have presented his case in time.

It was submitted on appeal that it was wrong in principle to treat differently advice received from an employee of an industrial tribunal from advice received from any third party such as a solicitor, a trade union or an industrial tribunal itself.

Mr Justice Popplewell said that it was reasonable to have presented his complaint in time.

In Riley v Tesco Stores (1980) ICR 323, which was concerned with wrong advice given by a CAB, it was held that incorrect advice did not render it not reasonably practicable to present the complaint within the time limit.

The Employment Appeal Tribunal accepted that there was a general principle that a failure by an adviser such as a solicitor or a CAB officer to give correct advice prevented an employee from claiming that it was not reasonably practicable to apply a complaint in time.

The Employment Appeal Tribunal accepted that that general principle applied to as a matter of fact that the applicant could hide behind the industrial tribunal's error and that they had jurisdiction to hear her complaint. The appeal would be dismissed.

Solicitors: Mr Peter Stevenson, Greenwich; Kempsons, Solicitor, MAFF.

and see whether the steps were effective. To describe it as unreasonable to take into account the reaction of the French ministers was quite wrong.

The prime factor which the minister had to take into account and did in fact take into account was the scale and extent of the attacks. In the end it was a question of degree.

Given the number of licences issued, the number of lambs safely transported and all the measures adopted to about the attacks on those animals, his Lordship entirely agreed with the minister's view that the stage had not been reached where a total ban could properly be generalised.

The applicants criticised the minister for not treating the situation more seriously than he did and for his reliance on the French authorities.

The British Government had many number of representations from sensible ministers in a friendly government which was under an obligation under the Treaty of Rome. The minister could scarcely be criticised for observing that it was up to the French authorities to take steps to implement the Directive.

There was nothing to suggest that the minister thereby abandoned his responsibility. They were perfectly proper steps which the minister was entitled to wait

for him to have presented his complaint in time.

Although in Riley's case there was an implicit disapproval of the use of the question whether the adviser was "engaged" by the employee to give advice, it was accepted that it was a yardstick for deciding practicability, there was no authority in Lord Justice Stephenson's judgment for a broad principle that bad advice from any third party prevented an employee from establishing that it was not reasonably practicable to present the complaint in time.

There was material on which the industrial tribunal could treat advice from an employee as being in a different category from advice from a solicitor or CAB adviser. There was a clear factual distinction between advice obtained from someone who was asked for advice and advice obtained by a claimant from an industrial tribunal employee.

That factual difference enabled the industrial tribunal to hold that general principle applied to as a matter of fact that the applicant could hide behind the industrial tribunal's error and that they had jurisdiction to hear her complaint. The appeal would be dismissed.

Solicitors: Herbert Smith.

Lucy's card game comes up trumps

Enterprising schoolgirls deal a winning hand in business awards. Hugh Thompson reports

Lucy McCabe has set her heart on reading theology at university. Meanwhile, she is trying to find a buyer for her musical card game, which was inspired by watching her father trying to learn to play the organ. Her solutions to the difficulties of learning music have won her the national and European titles in this year's Young Enterprise awards.

Lucy won the title in competition with 2,000 other businesses involving 28,000 schoolchildren. The scheme, sponsored by companies such as British Gas, Midland Bank and Shell, and started 26 years ago, to give children an understanding of industry and commerce, challenges groups of pupils to set up businesses. The groups pay an economic rent for premises, even if they are in the pupils' own school, design the products they wish to sell, check quality, market the goods and make a profit.

Like all the contestants, Lucy and her group at Pates grammar school, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, made their decisions with the help of a professional business adviser provided under the scheme.

Lucy and her fellow sixth-form directors developed the card game they have called Crescendo to help beginners to learn to recognise

musical notes. The 52 cards each represent a note. The seven games go from a simple form of snap called Tutti through Happy Families to playing the note or clapping its rhythm as the card is dealt. The games are all intended to form a bridge between the theory and practice of learning music. The company subcontracted the printing and in its first year sold 200 packs. A new print of 500 is already selling well. So far Crescendo, at £5.99 a game, has taken more than £4,000. Once the girls leave the school, the company will have to be closed.

Katherine Vilek, one of the group, says: "We were friends who wanted to do something out of school together. Starting up a business was something different, challenging."

Lucy and her team tried out a prototype on first-formers, but they found it too complicated, so they simplified the game. "We are hoping to sell the copyright before we leave school and Waddington's has already shown an interest," she says.

David Barnes, the headmaster at Pates, explains that the Young Enterprise scheme fitted in well with the school's economic awareness programme and it had made many contacts with companies both locally and in Europe.

"Young Enterprise seemed an



Winners from left: Cheyra Patel, Clare Swinhorn, Katherine Vilek, Katherine Sandoe and Lucy McCabe

ideal way of advancing our contacts," says Peter Davis, the school's head of careers. "Since every project has its own developer, it was a great way of developing teamwork and confidence."

Crescendo's commercial adviser, Rev Draper, of Glosster Photographic Services, remembers: "As a group they did not stand any marking around. There was a very high level of commitment. I said, 'Be there at 8.30 on Sunday morning, they were there.'

It was important that I stood back and let them make mistakes. What they had was a real desire to get to the finished product. They

believed in it and they were right." Joining the scheme is not easy. Cheyra Patel, in charge of production, found it very time-consuming: "We had to do a lot of designs. If we had known how much time was involved, I am not sure whether we would have done it. After a while you do not worry about contacting people you do not know. It does give you confidence."

Katherine Sandoe, Crescendo's personnel manager, adds: "In the end there is the sense of achievement. You get an idea how the business world works."

Girls dominate the scheme, providing 60 per cent of the

participants and 70 per cent of the managing directors. Hilary Coppen, of Young Enterprise, points out: "Quite often in mixed schools the boys initially take the plum jobs. However, after a few months of hard work it is the girls who are contributing the most and who take over the central roles."

A boy was appointed as the accountant for Crescendo but he soon lost the job. "We had to sack him. He was just no good," Lucy says. "It was not a sexist thing. People always try to make that point. If he had been any good we would have wanted him to stay."

• *Young Enterprise, Ewer Place, Summerhouse, Oxford OX2 7BZ.*

thing — except reading and writing. There are grants for in-service training in nearly everything — except reading and writing.

Government policy has forced teacher training colleges to reduce the time spent on teaching teachers to teach reading. Teachers follow false fashions not because they are perverse or have been captured by the "education establishment" but because they do not know enough to sort good theories from bad.

We need skilled teachers in our schools who can discover early the individual reasons why some children find it difficult to acquire literacy and can then use the methods that suit them.

MICHAEL STERNE

• The author is the executive director of the British Dyslexia Association.

Do not write off dyslexic children

More money must be spent on helping pupils with reading problems

language, are called dyslexic.

Failure to learn to read, write and spell is due to a difficulty in learning these skills and inappropriate teaching. Defining a child as dyslexic does not mean you should give up, only that the teaching is likely to be more difficult.

Most children with difficulty in learning to read and spell have problems with processing and remembering sounds, and problems with language. Children who have difficulty detecting rhyme and alliteration before they learn to read are more likely to have

difficulty. If children are trained to understand how sounds work, their later reading ability improves and this improvement can be detected years later.

Research has also shown that children who know nursery rhymes at four are more likely to make good readers. Work in Scandinavia has shown that ability to divide words into syllables is also significant.

There are many children with a history of delayed speech who languish in remedial classes. They often have poor comprehension and vocabulary, although they

may be excellent at activities not requiring language. These children can be treated if they are recognised. Often they are written off as "thick" and are therefore abandoned. A few children fail because they have poor visual memory. In English there are too many irregular words for teachers to be able to rely on reading words from letter sounds.

No British government has had a universal literacy policy or given money specifically for literacy. Grants of about £20 million to education authorities this year offer money for virtually every

teacher training college to reduce the time spent on teaching teachers to teach reading. Teachers follow false fashions not because they are perverse or have been captured by the "education establishment" but because they do not know enough to sort good theories from bad.

We need skilled teachers in our schools who can discover early the individual reasons why some children find it difficult to acquire literacy and can then use the methods that suit them.

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HUMAN characteristics vary. There are short and tall people, fast and slow runners. So it is with ability to learn to read. Abilities are the product of both heredity and environment. Some children learn to read so easily that it does not matter how they are taught. Others learn only with difficulty. Intelligence has little relevance.

The skill required to translate marks on paper into sounds is no intellectual feat. Understanding the print is another matter. Written language is no more difficult to understand than spoken language.

A child with comprehension difficulties will have problems understanding both writing and speech. Both decoding and comprehension are needed for successful reading. Children who have difficulty reading and spelling, although they can comprehend

NOTICEBOARD

Longer day for schools?

ONE of the less surprising reforms suggested by Sir Cyril Taylor in his education paper for the Centre of Policy Studies was that there should be a rapid growth in the number of city technology colleges.

Sir Cyril is the chairman of the City Technology College Trust. His other suggestions include the return of grammar schools, more freedom for grant-maintained schools, written tests for all pupils and a longer school week.

Sir Cyril, writing in a personal capacity, said that where a majority of parents voted in favour, a school that had opted out of local government control should be allowed to become a grammar school, a city technology school or a "magnet" school that specialises in a particular subject.

Voluntary-aided city technology colleges should be set up, using redundant school buildings provided free by local authorities, and government and industry should share the £1 million cost of re-equipping and refurbishing every school.

Many teachers claimed they were asked to cram too much into the school working week of about 23 hours, but Sir Cyril said the new city technology colleges were already working longer hours and all schools should provide a minimum 30 hours' teaching a week.

Pay on results

JOHN ATKINS is the first head teacher to agree to accept performance-related pay. Mr Atkins, the head of Kemnal Manor school, Bromley, south London, will receive an extra £2,000 on his £30,000 salary if he shows that he has met the targets set down by his governors covering curriculum and learning experience, staffing, appraisal and staff development, pupil support, activities outside school and resource management.

Upper lip service

FOURTEEN Soviet businessmen are on a three-week management course at the Manchester Business School to learn about the world economy, finance, international marketing, asset management and manufacturing strategy. The men, from Moscow's higher commercial management school, will also visit local companies to develop Anglo-

Soviet business links and will learn about the British stiff upper lip on a weekend adventure course.

Frontline visit

STUNG by recent criticisms of teacher training as irrelevant and too theoretical, the Universities Council for the Education of Teachers has invited Kenneth Clarke, the education secretary, to see for himself.

Representatives of the 31 university education departments, meeting at Oxford last week, sent a message to Mr Clarke saying they wanted him to talk to their students, see them at work in classrooms and to meet the teachers who help with training. The council said:

"The teacher trainers decided that direct observation of their work is the best way of demonstrating that the wholly misleading accounts of teacher training being put about by some ill-informed critics are an entire misrepresentation."

Hair today



LONG hair for men is coming back, says Ken Fairburn, who has cut students' hair at York for seven years. He told the university magazine: "Young hairdressers who can do only the half-inch hairstyles will be stuck. It is no good just trimming around the edge of long hair. You have to cut it properly. I remember the good old days in the Sixties."

Fund of ideas

SCHOOLS should be more enterprising in raising funds, says Roger Opie, of the Industrial Society. He told a London conference last week that schools should consider schemes such as making classrooms and computer equipment available for company training programmes, opening school car parks for weekend shoppers and giving language lessons to local businesses.

DAVID TYTLER

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Prudential Award for Theatre
Theatre Royal Stratford East

Prudential Award for Dance
The Place Theatre



PRUDENTIAL

التأمين على

Eileen's little treasures



When typist Eileen Crawford (left) died this year, her flat yielded a unique bequest. Joan Simpson reports

In her diary entry for April 6, 1968, Eileen Crawford, then aged 34, living quietly with her father in a council flat, wrote a stern note to herself: "Memo: — Stop buying Crystal beads now!"

This was a resolution she would not keep, and gives a clue to the obsession which drove her to acquire an important 20th century collection of ornamental ephemera, now treasured by the National Museums of Scotland as its most unusual bequest.

The diary entry is an unusually personal note in the meticulous records kept by Miss Crawford during more than 40 years of collecting the kind of jewellery that Woolworth's once sold. Here was an ordinary life, with an extraordinary postscript. After her death earlier this year, Miss Crawford's tiny council flat in Edinburgh yielded up an astonishing trove of costume jewellery and bric-a-brac which serves as a unique record of popular post-war taste. This week an exhibition opens at the Royal Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh to mark the bequest.

The very private Miss Crawford spent more than half her life quietly building up her collection. Hundreds of strings of brightly coloured plastic beads, glittering paste brooches, earrings, pendants, collections of butterfly pins and fan-shaped clips were among thousands of items painstakingly displayed in every available space in her flat, carefully sorted according to type.

Dr Elizabeth Goring, the curator of the modern jewellery collection at the NMS, is thrilled by the acquisition. "Miss Crawford was a true collector, not a magpie just acquiring junk. She gathered things that curators working on 20th century material have meant to acquire but, because they are so obvious and familiar, have not got round to it." From her diaries it is known that for at least 20 years Miss

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quietly building up her collection.

Hundreds of strings of brightly

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among thousands of items

painstakingly

displayed in every available

space in her flat, carefully

sorted according to type.

She wrote many footnotes, giving

her own assessment of value,

noting to herself: "This was really

16/6 too much so won't make any

further purchases here."

On November 28, 1968, she

"resolved to call a halt to usual

heavy expenditure on jewellery

and all bric-a-brac", but two days

later she was back buying again:

"From W's [Woolworth's], Lo-

thian Road: Xmas tree birds

novelty = 2/3", and by the end of

the week she had spent another

£2 5s 3d on glass stud earrings, a

cameo brooch, a coral and green

glass necklace, a necklace of 12

metal ivy leaves, and a china

scallop-shell trinket dish.

The annotations prove Miss

Crawford had no illusions that she

was buying priceless antiques; it

appears she was collecting purely

for her own pleasure, so it was

fortunate that in her will she was

inspired to leave to the NMS "the

first choice of any articles of

antique or artistic interest".

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BRIEFING

ROCK

Time and time again

RONALD Harwood's recent West End play, *Another Time*, will have an unusual American debut next year when it is chosen to open the Steppenwolf Company of Chicago's new \$8 million (£4.1 million) theatre on April 14. Plans were for the play to star a North American tour in Toronto before Broadway. Instead, its British star, Albert Finney, will appear alongside members of the Steppenwolf ensemble in Chicago, with a New York run yet to be determined. Finney is no stranger to Steppenwolf's uniquely visceral, high-energy style; not only is he on the theatre's advisory board, but in 1986 he won London's top theatre awards as the sole Briton in the company's production of *Lyle Kessler's Orphans*.

Not a water shrew

THE Stuttgart Ballet has had to drop John Cranko's comedy, *The Taming of the Shrew*, from its visit to the Theatre Royal, Glasgow next month, because the scenery has been damaged by water. English National Ballet, which has announced a new production of that work later this season, may be relieved at the disappearance of competition, but not so much so at Stuttgart's choice of a replacement — *Onegin* — which is also in ENB's repertoire. Marcia Haydee will dance the female lead in Glasgow on December 4.

Happy coterie

ON FRIDAY, the sixtieth birthday of Toru Takemitsu, Japan's leading composer, will be celebrated at the Queen Elizabeth Hall with a special tribute from the London Sinfonietta. Two of Takemitsu's commissions for the London Sinfonietta — *Rain Coming and Tree Line* — will be heard alongside works by Varese, Messiaen and Boulez. Among those performing will be Julian Bream, an old friend of the composer's, and the talented young conductor Kent Nagano, who makes his debut with the Sinfonietta at this concert.



Takemitsu's birthday concert

Last chance . . .

BETWEEN creating their large photo-pieces, Gilbert and George have always had a passion for ordinary — or preferably rather kitch — postcards. The examples in this latest show at the Anthony d'Offay Gallery (071-499 4100) are huge and vibrant. Many of the cards have a faintly eastern air, with the Taj Mahal jostling the Houses of Parliament, and pin-ups of Indian pop idols rubbing shoulders with Tom Cruise and Jason Donovan. Altogether, this riot of colour should not be missed. It ends tomorrow.

Punk was going to transform the rock music business, but where are the erstwhile rebels now? Jean-Jacques Burnel of the Stranglers, only survivors from the class of '76, compares campaign notes and scars with David Sinclair

Of all the rock 'n' roll movements, the punk campaign of 1976-1977 now seems to have been the most futile. Originally a hostile reaction to the complacency that had overtaken the music business by the mid-Seventies, punk was the rallying point for a new breed of angry young men and women, impatient for change. Their mission was to reaffirm the rebellious primitivism that informed the true spirit of rock 'n' roll.

Musical ability was frowned upon; attitude, commitment and above all energy were what counted. As well as mounting an anti-establishment broadside, their wrath was also targeted on the remote, multi-million-selling rock acts that betrayed the American stadium circuit like dinosaurs from another age: artists such as Queen, Fleetwood Mac, the Rolling Stones, Led Zeppelin and Paul McCartney, who had lost their "street credibility".

Led by the Sex Pistols and the Clash, the spiky-haired fundamentalists strode into the breach. Revolutionary gestures included spitting, swearing, defacing pictures of the Queen and refusing to go on *Top of the Pops*. Much of it was obvious hoopla, about as meaningful as wearing flowers in their hair had been for a previous generation, but nobody could deny the extraordinary mood of excitement and adventure that was abroad as a new galaxy of groups such as Siouxsie and the Banshees, the Jam, the Damned and the Adverts exploded into being.

The Stranglers had already been going for a while by then. "We got started during the latter part of the pub-rock era, supporting acts like Brinsley Schwarz and Ducks Deluxe," recalls bass player Jean-Jacques Burnel. "We were just an R'n'B band, but we couldn't play very well. So our songs tended to be very short, and quite honestly most of the audiences on that circuit seemed to hate us."

For the Stranglers, the onset of punk was a godsend. Here was an audience that welcomed their abrupt, aggressive music and positively encouraged the group's anti-social behaviour. The Stranglers may have been that bit older and more musically accomplished than their peers, but in many ways the band was more punk than punk itself. They broke through in 1977 with their debut album, *Stranglers IV (Rattus Norvegicus)*, and second single, "Peaches", which, owing to the sleazy voyeurism and casual sexism of the lyrics they were not permitted to perform on *Top of the Pops*.

"I think most of punk was a pose," says Burnel. "But we weren't posing. The others talked about it, but we did it. We sought out violence. For a time our only

If I saw me as I was ten or 12 years ago coming up the road, I would probably cross over to the other side'

(their biggest hit) and "Always the Sun" one would hardly credit it as being the same group.

Burnel is contemptuous of the charge that the band has mellowed out — "It's all relative. Can you imagine a mellow Saddam Hussein or a mellow Thatcher?" — and it is true that the Stranglers' sinister reputation has remained virtually intact.

Punk's problem was that it set itself goals which guaranteed its own failure. By definition, any punk group which did not self-

Banshees remains in the group that now bears that name. The rest of the crowd gave up, or drifted into obscurity, and until recently the Stranglers, with their line-up unchanged, could fairly claim to be the last authentic gang in town.

Now even they are in limbo as they audition prospective replacements for Cornwell, who departed suddenly last August. The group's management will give no information concerning Cornwell's whereabouts or current activities and Burnel plays this one very close to

the chest. "I knew that he had felt uncomfortable for the last few years about various things. Touring . . . some of the more provocative things that we got involved in, he was almost embarrassed about."

Since the early appearances of Elvis Presley on American television when he was shown only from the waist up, there has been a healthy tradition of outrage in rock 'n' roll. Punk's shock troopers

challenge the continuing dominance of acts such as Queen, Fleetwood Mac, the Rolling Stones and Paul McCartney, the very same icons that the punks were pledged to topple. Even Led Zeppelin, defunct for a decade, is back in the charts this week.

It is probably a bit late in the day to declare that a moratorium on the Stranglers is the final nail in the coffin of punk itself, but at a time when John Lydon (né Roten) now lives in the exclusive Bel Air neighbourhood of Los Angeles and Vivienne Westwood carries off the British Designer of the Year Award, there are certainly no more punk heroes.

Burnel, happily married with two young children, now plays a Wal-midi-bass which cost him £2,000 and can sound like anything from a full orchestra to the blaring, distorted racket of his original bass.

"If I saw me as I was ten or 12 years ago coming up the road, I would probably cross over to the other side," he says now, although there is still a disconcerting glint in his eye.

• *Greatest Hits 1977-1990 by the Stranglers* is released today on Epic

Are they taking the Michael?

THE political history of the past week has been more than a little generous to *House of Cards* (BBC 1, last night) the new political thriller, adapted by Andrew Davies from the novel by Michael Dobbs, himself a former Thatcher aide who, like Douglas Hurd, seems to have found some kind of solace in the construction of devious cliff-hangers.

Here we are left in no doubt as to whodunit even before the prime ministerial regime in the book has reached its close. Ian Richardson at his silk-smoothest is turning to the camera, for all the world like Sir Humphrey playing Richard III to announce his imminent plans to remove all other candidates and have himself duly enthroned in Downing Street. True, Richardson's Francis Urquhart does not have the hunchback or the clubfoot usually associated with the role of the megalomaniac achiever, not unless he has found himself a very good tailor and shoemaker around the corridors of Westminster, where he is strategically placed as chief whip to bring down all those rash enough to believe he is their supporter.

By the end of the first episode he had, however, managed to nab an adoring female journalist to listen to his deep-throated revelations. He had also set up a neat bribery scandal for the new prime minister's brother, blackmailed the party's advertising chief by discovering his cocaine habits, and lined up a likely succession for himself in the near future.

And all this while Urquhart-Richardson wonders around the corridors of power like some papal nuncio, bestowing blessings on those he is about to dismember.

There is something about Richardson's semi-detached grandeur which makes him the perfect spy if only for himself; years of acting in Shakespeare and John Le Carré have equipped him with an elegant mix of arrogance and treachery, and if Andrew Davies' bleakly funny script has any failing it is that he has not bothered to sketch any of the other characters as much more than nine pins to be lightly demolished by the central bowler. At its worst, *House of Cards* resembles Agatha Christie rewritten on a bad morning by C.P. Snow. At its best, it is a latter-day Jacobean melodrama, full of such wonderful supporting figures as Mr Stott, a snivelling Tory backbencher in brothel trouble, and the unseen but all-powerful international media tycoon, Mr Landless.

Some of the jokes in BBC 2's *Nippon* (last night) would not have been appreciated in the United States, where locals thrown out of work by the superiority of Japanese car imports have taken to setting them alight. In a careful study of how Japan took its revenge on Detroit for the second world war, the programme came up with such gems as a Japanese commercial from the middle 1960s noting with pleasure how "local round blue eyes widened in amazement" when one of its cars won an Australian rally.

SHERIDAN MORLEY



Burnel: "Most of punk was a pose. We weren't posing. The others talked about it, but we did it."

FINE ART

Red is another colour

Joseph Williams
meets Soviet
artists, enjoying
unprecedented
freedom of travel
and expression

Not since the Bolshevik revolution has Soviet art been so bold as it is today. Russia's, and then the Soviet Union's early avant-garde was one of the most exciting experimental movements of the 20th century. Then Stalin came to power and crushed it, forcing art to celebrate proletarian virtues. Names such as Kandinsky and Chagall were discredited.

Now there is freedom again. Today's underground artists are still emerging, blinking into the glare of publicity. An exhibition of some of their work has just opened at Cambridge University, where I met the artists, some of whom had never been abroad. What they cherished most was not so much their political freedom, but the opportunity to exhibit their work and develop their skills.

Before perestroika, Eduard Gorokhovski's simple, vivid collages were unacceptable and he was constrained to work as an unofficial artist: "I didn't literally have to hide my work, but I could never show it. If an artist tried to exhibit his art, the courts could order his painting to be destroyed."

But attacking the Soviet system is not in vogue anymore. Now that Stalin's Socialist Realism is buried, artists want simply to get on with the business of painting. Eduard Gorokhovski, who has already exhibited widely in Europe, uses a combination of photo-montage and water

Banshees remains in the group that now bears that name. The rest of the crowd gave up, or drifted into obscurity, and until recently the Stranglers, with their line-up unchanged, could fairly claim to be the last authentic gang in town.

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Since the early appearances of Elvis Presley on American television when he was shown only from the waist up, there has been a healthy tradition of outrage in rock 'n' roll. Punk's shock troopers

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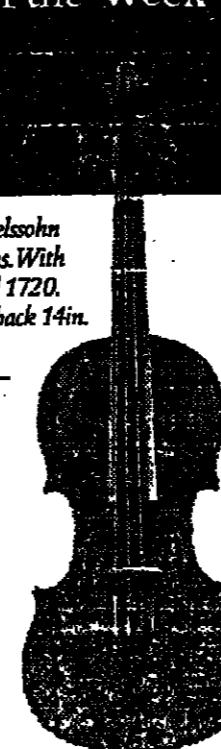
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T HIS magnificent instrument dates from 1720, towards the end of Stradivari's 'Golden Period' of violin production. Owned in the late 19th century by the Mendelssohn banking family of Berlin, who were descendants of the composer, 'The Mendelssohn' is in superb condition and has not been on the market for 35 years. Being sold for the benefit of the United Jewish Appeal-Federation of Jewish Philanthropies in New York, it is one of the finest instruments by Stradivari to be seen at auction in recent years. The violin is included in the sale of Musical Instruments at Christie's, King Street on Wednesday, 21 November at 10.30 a.m. and 2.30 p.m.

For further information on this and sales in the next week, please telephone Christie's 24-hour Auction Information Service on (071) 839 9060.

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EDUCATIONAL supplement



"The vacancy for principal arose in February when a pupil activist came to the staffroom at lunchtime to announce that the incumbent must go or there would be trouble; he had been judged to be a collaborator with the Government's hated Department of Education and Training which is responsible for black education."

Hertfordshire headmaster George Walker
reports from South Africa.

THE TIMES EDUCATIONAL SUPPLEMENT - Friday -

Bank women's victory brings discrimination policy review

By TIM JONES, EMPLOYMENT CORRESPONDENT

SCORES of firms will begin reviewing their sex discrimination policies this week after 12 women whom Barclays Bank forced to retire at 60 won a total of £160,000 compensation and were offered their jobs back.

The decision, signed in the Court of Appeal, will have far-reaching implications for all employers and could benefit at least 10,000 women who wish to continue working until 65.

Bill Gordon, Barclays director of personnel, said that the decision would force employers throughout Britain to re-examine their equal opportunities policies. He said that although the bank had acted on initial legal advice which supported its action, it recognised

Thatcher accuses Heseltine

Continued from page 1
consider resigning the Tory whip if he were chosen, but mainstream right-wingers have already made plain that they would co-operate with any chosen leader.

Mrs Thatcher's leadership team continued to voice confidence that she would win convincingly on Tuesday. They dismissed the polls, saying they were asking the wrong question. One said: "You might as well ask people if they wanted Santa Claus as leader." Norman Lamont, the Treasury chief secretary, said that the polls which showed up to a 10 per cent swing to the Tories if Mr Heseltine were elected leader, were "not worth the paper they were written on". He said: "It is not necessary to change the leadership of the party for us to win the next election."

In her *Times* interview Mrs Thatcher said of Mr Heseltine: "He says he would reduce the community charge, he would reduce taxation, that sounds just like the Labour party ... We would end up with more community charge and more tax. We cannot go that way. We cannot go that way!"

She calls 1987-8 "the two years I lost", the "setback" and "the time I gave in", and clearly blames Nigel Lawson, her former chancellor, for shadowing the demotivator. ● Mr Heseltine's leadership challenge is "a grave diversion that should be defeated as soon as possible", according to a group of senior businessmen, including Lord Hanson, Sir John Cuckney and Lord Porte, in a letter to *The Times* today (page 15). Mrs Thatcher is also supported in another letter by 15 Tory MPs from marginal constituencies.

that the law was changing rapidly and was happy to welcome the women back.

"We want to remain within the law and end the uncertainty, not only for the women who were awaiting industrial tribunal hearings but also for those in the same category who have been allowed to stay at work pending the outcome of this case," he said.

Iain MacLean, assistant general secretary of the Barclays Group staff union, said that the settlement meant that hundreds of women employed by the company now had the option of working until the age of 65 with all the associated pensions benefits.

"Recent studies show that more and more women are choosing to carry on working past 60 and it is well established that many employers now need them to do just that. For any employer to deny women this right while giving it to men is completely unacceptable."

Alice Leonard, deputy legal adviser to the Equal Opportunities Commission, which supported the women, said: "By law, employers must make sure that their retirement age policies treat women and men equally. When they are changing their policies in line with new laws and phasing in changes, they must ensure equal treatment or risk legal action."

The case began in 1988 when an industrial tribunal ruled that the bank had discriminated against Stella James, one of the 12 women, by making her retire at 60 when male colleagues who joined the company at the same time could work until 65. Barclays appealed against the decision and convinced the Employment Appeals Tribunal to refer the case back to the industrial tribunal.

Last week, however, at the Court of Appeal, the bank accepted the industrial tribunal was correct and agreed to offer Mrs James almost £10,000 and reinstatement. Barclays also agreed to offer generous settlements to the other women.

Mrs James started working for the bank in 1969 when the retirement age was 65 for men and 60 for women. The bank changed its rules in 1973 to introduce retirement at 60 for all staff but did not backdate them to apply to staff who started before that date.

After a European Court decision in 1986, which requires all employers to have equal retirement ages, the bank changed its policy to allow women and men above a certain grade to carry on working up to 65. This excluded Mrs James and the other women because they were on a lower grade than the one specified.

Mrs James said yesterday: "I am delighted and now feel like I have won the battle."

Discrimination age, page 21



Family reunion: Simon Jones with his mother, Sally, and his grandparents after being found safe and well in a hostel yesterday

Brooke tries to revive initiative

By EDWARD GORMAN, IRISH AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT

PETER Brooke, the Northern Ireland secretary, is to meet Charles Haughey, the Irish prime minister, before the end of this month in an attempt to save the government's initiative on Northern Ireland, official sources confirmed yesterday.

The meeting, an exact date for which has yet to be fixed, comes after a series of failures to establish agreement between nationalists and unionists on the timing of Dublin's involvement in a three-tiered talks process on the future government of Northern Ireland.

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BUSINESS

MONDAY NOVEMBER 19 1990

Cabra will consider £30m offer for Chelsea

CABRA Estates has received a £30 million offer for the freehold of Chelsea football club, a prime 13-acre site in Central London, and will formally consider the bid at a board meeting this week (Colin Campbell writes).

Ken Bates, the chairman of Chelsea football club, who made the offer in association with unnamed property entrepreneurs, says Chelsea football club and the land are likely to be the centre-piece of "a major leisure complex" that could eventually be floated on the International Stock Exchange.

The valuation of the Stamford Bridge site - which has been the subject of various legal disputes in recent years - was written down by £10 million to £30 million in Cabra's 1990 accounts.

Mr Bates said a commitment made to Chelsea supporters that they would be given a chance to be part owners of the football ground lay behind the intention to float on the Stock Exchange.

If listed, the Chelsea club would join Tottenham Hotspur as one of two football clubs to be quoted.

CBI small firms at 10-year low

Business confidence among small firms is at its lowest ebb for a decade, the Confederation of British Industry says. Almost half of the 726 firms with fewer than 200 employees surveyed for the CBI's small firms economic report said order books were significantly below normal.

The report mirrors findings of the CBI's quarterly trends survey, covering big companies, which showed their optimism at a ten-year low.

Index linked issue helps NS

The high inflation rate saved National Savings from a disastrous October. Sales of the 5th Issue index linked certificates totalled £180.8 million. The issue provided the biggest net addition to funding with £15.1 million when there was a deficit of £28.1 million.

When interest credited to accounts is added to the net addition to funding was £175.2 million. The outflow from fixed interest certificates totalled £183.5 million.

Lilley hints at selling BT stake

A sale of the government's 48.7 per cent stake in British Telecom, now worth £8 billion, looks increasingly likely once the restructuring of the United Kingdom telecommunications market is complete.

Peter Lilley, the trade secretary, said he wants the holding to be sold "if the circumstances are right." That could signal an offer to the public of the remaining shares in the autumn of 1991.

Output ahead

Manufacturers in Northern Ireland have 1 per cent more orders in hand than a year ago with output running 3 per cent higher, according to the PA consulting group's quarterly survey of business prospects.

THE POUND

CHANGE ON WEEK
US dollar 1.9665 (-0.0005)
W German mark 2.8908 (-0.0363)
Exchange index 93.8 (-0.6)

STOCK MARKET

FT 30 Share 1614.8 (+32.2)
FT-SE 100 2068.0 (+27.4)
New York Dow Jones 2550.25 (+61.64)
Tokyo Nikkei Avg 23171.63 (+239.83)

TOURIST RATES

	Bank Rate	Bank Rate
Australia \$	2.515	2.465
Austria Sch	21.30	20.95
Belgium Fr	62.50	61.95
Canada \$	2.385	2.325
Dominican Rd	1.74	1.625
Finland Fr	10.16	9.55
France Fr	3.02	2.95
Germany Dm	31.98	26.00
Greece Dr	1.58	1.495
Hong Kong \$	1.73	1.68
Iceland Kr	2.295	2.25
Japan Yen	2.325	2.30
Netherlands Gld	11.13	10.95
Norway Kr	257.50	251.00
Portuguese Esc	4.50	4.50
South Africa Rnd	18.10	17.00
Spain Pes	11.23	10.89
Sweden Kr	2.54	2.50
Turkey Lira	2.045	1.945
USA \$	2.05	2.010
Yugoslavia Dinar	27.00	26.00

Rates for small denominations bank only as supplied by Barclays Bank PLC. Different rates apply to travellers' cheques.
Retail Price Index: 130.3 (October)

Virgin group to bid for ITV franchise

By MELINDA WITSTOCK, MEDIA CORRESPONDENT

VIRGIN, the entertainment group, is preparing a bid for a channel three licence in next year's ITV franchise auction with the help of Westinghouse, the American conglomerate.

Richard Branson, the Virgin chairman, said both the Thames and TBS regions were obvious targets, but that Virgin would also consider the LWT, Central and Anglia regions.

A decision on which of the 16 ITV franchises to seek will be made at the last moment, once it is clear "what other people are going to do", Mr Branson said in a television interview with Mary Golding, the journalist, on Channel 4's *Answering Back*.

"We are getting fairly down the line [preparing the application]," he said. The Independent Television Commission is to advertise the franchises in January with applications due in April.

But Mr Branson ruled out a takeover bid for an existing ITV franchise. "We would want to go into it from day one and start afresh with a new franchise," he said. But the news that Virgin, backed by the financial muscle of Westinghouse, is aggressively

seeking a franchise, is expected to cast a cloud over the shares of likely losers on the stock market today.

The announcement comes only a month after Charles Levison, managing director of Virgin, said Virgin would want to bid for two southern ITV franchises. Once a team is in place, he has been quoted as saying, it makes sense to use the same expertise to bid for others.

The government is soon to introduce rules governing cross-ownership of ITV companies. Bidders would be prevented from owning two large companies but could own one large and one small.

Westinghouse is to fund the application for the franchise. "If it doesn't work out they are willing to suffer the financial consequences," Mr Branson said. "I am not a gambler."

Mr Levison, previously managing director of Superchannel in which Virgin holds a 45 per cent stake, has said Virgin also plans to expand its interests in television programme production and distribution.

The group, which owns Virgin Communications, its own studios and post-production facilities subsidiary, plans to expand into drama, light entertainment and youth programmes.

It already claims to be the largest seller of musical TV programmes in the world through its Music Box division.

It also co-produces classical music series for the BBC and Channel 4 and has recently concluded a development deal with Rapido, the French television production house.

Virgin, now a private company, is estimated by City analysts to be worth about £1 billion.

Mr Branson, who was rumoured to have been involved in management buyout talks at *Today Before The Sunday Correspondent* approached News International with a merger proposal last week, has ruled out any involvement in the deal.

He said: "I don't want to bid for *Today* and it is extremely unlikely that I will ever buy a newspaper. If I were ever to get into the newspaper business, it would be much more likely we would start from scratch."



Waiting for others to jump first: Richard Branson, the chairman of Virgin group

Smurfit takes 13% stake in Walker

By ROSS TREMAN, INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

SMURFIT, the Irish millionaire, is helping re-finance the debt-laden Brent Walker brewing and property group on terms which would give him a near 13 per cent stake in the group's enlarged equity.

Jefferson Smurfit, his Dublin packaging group, will have the right to appoint a director to the Brent Walker board.

Brent Walker and Jefferson Smurfit have also set up a 50-50 joint venture to develop leisure projects in Ireland. Jefferson Smurfit, which is investing £16.2 million (£11.1 million) in the deal, is already building golf clubs and setting up a third Irish television channel. A Jefferson

Smurfit announcement anticipated "other synergies" with Brent Walker.

Mr Smurfit is investing £10 million of his own cash in Brent Walker's £103.3 million convertible capital bond issue.

Jefferson Smurfit has subscribed £15 million. On conversion that would put almost 13 per cent of Brent Walker in Mr Smurfit's hands.

Birdcage Walk, the private vehicle of Mr Walker, the Brent Walker chairman and chief executive, has invested £27 million. That could lift his holding in the company to almost 27 per cent. The bond issue is subject to clawback by shareholders under an open offer which closes tomorrow.

Analysts expect the document to be released tomorrow to avoid a clash with the electricity industry's impact day.

It seems likely that Foseco's defence, apart from smacking Burmah's own record in specialty chemicals, will forecast profits for the current year that are comfortably ahead of present market expectations.

Analysts had anticipated a fall from £46.2 million before tax in 1989 to between £35 million, according to Charles Pick of Nomura, and £36.6 million, estimated by Martin Glen at Shearson Lehman. However,

recent events indicate that Foseco may be ready to take the City by surprise.

The company has already announced that there will be an exceptional credit of £3 million after the successful

final touches: Tom Long (left) and Bob Jordan who spent the weekend finalising the defence document

defence of patent actions, which began in 1982, in the United States.

The money was set aside in the form of an accrual charging £300,000 a year against trading profits.

Since then Foseco has received an £800,000 order for the immediate delivery of sealants to protect concrete from fresh flooding in Saudi Arabia.

Foseco has also completed the sale of technology and assets from its high temperature insulation business to J&J Dyson at an initial profit of almost £1 million.

Burmah, which is offering 275p a share in cash, has already acquired 14.6 per cent of Foseco in the market. On Friday, Foseco shares closed unchanged at 279p. Burmah shares were also unchanged at 440p.

Foseco plans blockbuster defence

DESPERSON



Final touches: Tom Long (left) and Bob Jordan who spent the weekend finalising the defence document

Italy urges push-button VAT

From PETER GUILFORD IN BRUSSELS

EUROPEAN Community finance ministers will walk the tightrope today between British disdain for paperwork and French fears of tax fraud as they try once again to agree a common way of collecting value-added tax after 1992.

At issue is the need for a watertight VAT collection system for cross-border sales, replacing fiscal border checks when these disappear.

To quell French fears of goods being spirited away by fraudulent traders claiming them for export, the European Commission is anxious to ensure that all foreign sales tally with those received by the importer. But most solutions on offer involve detailed listing of exports and look very complicated.

Eager to close the issue before its EC presidency ends in December, Italy will present the ministers with a less bu-

nreacitve compromise. Traders would submit a quarterly list of all their EC customers plus VAT numbers and the total value of goods sold to them.

Tighter co-operation with overseas authorities, including electronic data exchange, would enable Customs & Excise to test traders' returns and ensure that goods sold matched those received.

But with British business breathing down its neck, the government may not want such a compromise. Last week the Institute of Directors dismissed the idea of obligatory export lists as a heavy burden on business and customs.

Brussels disagrees, saying companies would merely have to press a button four times a year rather than once, as they already file mandatory annual tax returns. Its proposals would sweep away 50 to 60 million documents a year.

Christiane Scrivener, European tax commissioner, is urging the ministers to reach a political agreement today, leaving decisions on timing to follow next year. But this, too, is beset with problems. She

says the regime to be transitional, running from 1993 to 1997, when VAT would be charged in the country selling the goods, not in the receiver country as happens at present.

Several nations, including Britain, fear this would unleash market forces on cross-border shopping and force VAT rates down, removing their coveted sovereignty over tax. They would rather see the "transitional" period remain open-ended.

Two-thirds of the 300-odd pieces to the single market jigsaw are now in place, and many will be in operation by the end of 1992 deadline. But tax has proved one of the hardest nuts to crack, and if agreement does not come soon, the deadline for a border-free community will almost certainly be missed.

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Power sell-off details this week

By MARTIN WALLER

THE government will this week announce the price investors will have to pay for shares in the 12 electricity distribution companies in England and Wales, with all the indications pointing to a prospective yield of about 8.4 per cent.

Government advisers were closeted at Kleinwort Benson, the merchant bank handling the float for the government late last night deciding how many shares will be issued. Today they will consider the probable price, ahead of impact day on Wednesday when it will be announced.

The advisers are likely to come up with three optional prices, probably 235p, 240p and 245p. The government has said 100p of this will be payable in the first instalment.

At 240p, the government is looking to get the issue away yielding between 8.35 per cent and 8.45 per cent, a touch less than some in the City are hoping for. Every 5p movement on the price alters the yield up or down by just short of 0.2 per cent, and the advisers are therefore thinking in terms of a potential yield varying from 8.25 per cent to 8.5 per cent.

The decision on which of the three prices to opt for will not be taken until Wednesday. Advisers say they are braced for a fall in the stock market today as institutions try to tempt the price lower: a 60-point fall on the FT-SE 100 index came shortly before impact day for water a year ago, and was promptly corrected the next day.

Among the 12 companies, there will be a variation of about 1 per cent in individual yields to reflect differing characters and prospects. At the bottom of the curve, at little more than 8, are likely to be boards such as Southern, Eastern, East Midlands and London which have demographic trends in their favour and are viewed as least vulnerable to economic slowdown.

At the other end, offering 9 per cent or possibly more, are such as Northern, Manweb, South Wales and Southwest.

The government remains confident the issue will be a success at these levels, with various factors having moved the required yield down in recent weeks. Certain institutions, however, feel higher yields are necessary. One clear bear among City analysts is John Wilson at UBS-Phillips & Drew who regards this "the most expensive flotation that's ever happened".

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Consider an imaginary word: Heseltinomics. It is not a simple word like Reaganomics or Thatcherism, words easily scanned, pronounced and, above all, repeated. It sounds clumsy and overcomplicated, a jumble of phonetic contradictions. The chances are that it will never catch on. But just suppose that it does. What might it mean?

A common view of Michael Heseltine is that he would change only the style of today's Conservatism, not its substance. Since Mr Heseltine is fighting for the support of Thatcher loyalists, he naturally does nothing to dispel this impression. But his many recent speeches and books point to a very different conclusion.

In at least three crucial areas of economic management — on personal taxation, industrial policy and monetary control — what Mr Heseltine stands for is more akin to revolution than evolution.

• On personal taxation, Mr Heseltine's aversion to poll tax is well known. But he must know that he can only abolish or seriously modify the poll tax by

Economic consequences of Mr Heseltine

ANATOLE KALETSKY

raising income taxes, albeit perhaps by stealth. One obvious alternative to poll tax would be a local income tax or an income-related community charge amounting to the same thing.

Another solution would be to combine the proposed shift of education spending to the central Exchequer and pay for this by abolishing the mortgage interest tax deduction, another disguised way of raising income taxes. Abolishing mortgage relief would save the government £5.5 billion, exactly half the £11 billion raised at present by poll tax.

Either change would readily be recognised as indirect ways of raising personal income tax and they would overturn the fundamental fiscal axiom of the 1980s, that personal taxes can move only in one direction — down. As a result, it will become impossible to rule out extra public spending on the grounds that there is "no money to pay for it".

• On industry, Mr Heseltine

believes passionately that government must support high-technology research projects that are too big or too risky for individual companies to undertake on their own. "No government can avoid making strategic judgements about technologically advanced programmes," he says.

Britain already spends as much as other European countries on government R&D, but this is concentrated in defence. To Thatcherites this might suggest the need to cut defence spending, but Mr Heseltine takes the opposite view. Since Britain's defence industry has turned into a successful exporter with the aid of government support, this points to the need for more

government commitment to R&D outside the defence world, rather than a reduction in defence expenditure itself.

Mr Heseltine's heretical views on industry go well beyond defence and R&D spending.

All competition, industrial and trade policies, he points out, should also be co-ordinated at a European level to ensure that European companies continue to hold their own against both the Americans and Japanese. There is "one cardinal rule" that politicians must be sure to follow: "stop pretending that this sort of industrial support is a doctrinal intrusion into the workings of the market place. It is an unavoidable part of today's competitive world in which

Britain should be determined to excel".

Some Thatcherites probably believe that Mr Heseltine cannot mean what he says. Presumably he is aware of the well-worn arguments against governments "picking winners" among futuristic technologies. He must know about the repeated failure of uncompetitive "national champions" in such industries as computers, telecommunications and aerospace. But there is no evidence that he is convinced by such *laissez-faire* objections. His books and speeches never refer to Concorde or the British nuclear power programme. For him, the European Fighter Aircraft, the Airbus and the Esprit and Jessi semiconductor development programmes are all paragons of industrial success.

• Finally, there is monetary and exchange-rate policy. This has attracted less attention than the other two areas, but is actually more surprising. In the last year

Mr Heseltine has become a passionate advocate of a politically independent Bank of England. This would manage interest rates and exchange rates with no direct supervision from the government or parliament, like the German Bundesbank.

A British Bundesbank would not only cure our chronic inflationary problems. Just as important, it would finesse the controversy on European Monetary Union: "If national governments have within their own national discretion subjected themselves to precisely the disciplines that are replicated in a European bank, allegations of infringed sovereignty are much diluted."

Does Mr Heseltine realise an independent Bank of England would almost certainly increase interest rates and guarantee defeat for the Tories in the next election? Presumably he does. But as a policy for the next parliament, central bank independence might be just the ticket: timed perfectly to clear up the mess caused by the pre-election boomlet. Britain is bound to have next year, whoever wins tomorrow.

WHILE anxiety over the Gulf is keeping investors on tenterhooks, one oil share is finding increasing favour with the market. Ultramar, long regarded as an ugly duckling.

The share price, at 332p, has not been a marvellous performer over the past year. Helped by upgraded forecasts after the group's recent strong third quarter figures, the odds are that Ultramar at current levels could prove cheap on a year's view.

The strength of third quarter profits, which all but trebled from £15.5 million to £44.6 million, owed much to stock profits of £11.7 million. Even stripped of these, there can be little carpings about a replacement cost profits increase of 51.6 per cent.

The fundamental improvement in the margins of downstream operations should continue in Ultramar's final quarter and because the recent higher world oil price had only one month's positive impact on upstream operations, the best of the higher oil price benefit is yet to come.

Nine months profits at £78.9 million (£76.2 million) are only just ahead, but that is a product of looking at sterling profits rather than the fundamental dollar earnings. Year-end estimates suggest Ultramar will comfortably exceed 1989's net profit of £102.2 million. One possible outcome is for 1990 profits of £116.5 million, though some are expecting as much as £130 million.

The profits range for 1991 is wide, running from £112.5 million up to £170 million, though world events will determine where profits finally land. Followers of oil shares need no reminder that even one week is a long time in the business.

Projected profits growth in 1990 and 1991 put the shares at 332p on a prospective rating of 10.5 and 9.4, respectively. The projected yield remains under 5 per cent, but the more than 35 per cent discount to estimated net asset value looks too big a gap.

One analyst, while conceding Ultramar's defensive merits in markets, suggests it would be wrong to get too euphoric about a single set of quarterly results. Others ex-

Ugly duckling Ultramar starts to look like a swan



Hopeful prospect: John Darby, Ultramar chairman

pect a wider investment recognition will lead to a bounce in the share price to the 420p level, at which point the price earnings ratio would be 13.2.

As John Darby, the chairman, would agree, Ultramar looks interesting.

INSURERS

A CRUMB of optimism went a long way among the composite insurers last week. The suggestion that rates are beginning to harden seems interesting.

Royal's decision to increase domestic structure premiums by 10 per cent from the beginning of the month

will doubtless be followed by others. Also, index-linking means many households will face premium increases of more than 20 per cent in the new year. But suggestions of a recovery have been greatly exaggerated. Commercial property premiums are still softening, in spite of increasing fire claims. There are no signs of a recovery in the vital American market.

Royal's solvency margin, the industry measure of claims' paying ability, has fallen to 35 per cent, the lowest for 16 years. The group insists there will be no rights issue, but as the recent rise shows insurance investors are emotional types. If cash call fears re-emerge, the sector could fall from grace as quickly as it arrived.

Burton Group

SIR Ralph Halpern's departure from the Burton Group cannot change the appalling trading conditions in which the company finds itself but it does clear the path for Burton's recovery. Latterly, under Sir Ralph's reign, the Burton board had a siege mentality which was increasingly at odds with the City. The board appeared divided. Changes were made to the structure of the company instead. Neither side is likely to back down during a meeting of ministers in Brussels today.

Aggressive French compa-

nies will see rich pickings in

the United Kingdom as well as among their under-insured

Italian, Spanish and Portuguese neighbours. Many small life insurers in the United Kingdom could go to the wall, says the study, *Insurance in a Changing Europe, 1990 to 1995*. The study also predicts greater use of direct media and telephone sales as customer awareness grows.

□ AMBITIOUS moves to en-

close cross-border bidding

for public contracts which

aim to stop governments

choosing domestic companies

without giving foreigners a fair

chance, are stumbling at the

last fence. Britain is not

pleased at the way Brussels

proposes to look into compa-

nies' books to check that

they are playing by the rules.

Foreign insurers could swal-

low up half the general in-

surance market in the United

Kingdom and a quarter of the

life and pensions market by

to do the inspecting. Many

contractors in these four lu-

cientric sectors are private and

therefore harder to monitor, it

believes.

Britain says the market, not

the government, should

choose the inspectors.

□ SOME of the world's big-

gest private courier companies

have said the European

Community's over-protected

postal monopolies could do

with a strong dose of free

competition.

In a discussion paper un-

veiled in Brussels, the Euro-

pean Express Organisation

claims the Post, Telephones

and Telegraph's (PTT) stran-

glehold over mail deliveries

between member states vi-

olates EC rules, making mat-

tters worse in an increasingly

depressed market. Royal Mail

and the Dutch PTT are al-

ready more streamlined

because of private com-

petition, but others are not.

The courier companies con-

cede that local mail could

remain in the hands of na-

tional regulators for the pres-

ent, while EC assistance shou-

ld be used to ensure an

Split over passport for investment

EC NOTEBOOK

SQUABBLING will resume today over the European Commission's market in investment services which Britain and other "liberals", such as Germany and the Netherlands, want opened wider to competition than France and Italy.

Brussels is proposing a single "passport" for investment companies seeking foreign clients. But the French and the Italians want to retain the right to issue a special visa for "off-market" trading done outside stock exchange structures. This is to protect investors, they say, but London suspects a Latin conspiracy to protect their stock market monopolies instead. Neither side is likely to back down during a meeting of ministers in Brussels today.

BRITAIN'S insurance in-

dustry, widely rated as the

most competitive in Europe,

could take quite a knocking

when the EC's new insurance regime enters fully into force, according to Arthur Anderson, the management consultant.

Foreign insurers could swal-

low up half the general in-

surance market in the United

Kingdom and a quarter of the

life and pensions market by

1995. Banks could also poach

up to a fifth of the European

life and pensions sector from

traditional insurance com-

panies.

Aggressive French compa-

nies will see rich pickings in

the United Kingdom as well as

among their under-insured

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□ AMBITIOUS moves to en-

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nies' books to check that

they are playing by the rules.

Foreign insurers could swal-

low up half the general in-

surance market in the United

Kingdom and a quarter of the

life and pensions market by

1995. Market forecasts range

from £240 million to £280 mil-

</div

Golden Celtic to help Knight gather treble

By MANDARIN (MICHAEL PHILLIPS)

HENRIETTA Knight, in only her second season with a full licence, currently has the best strike rate among the leading trainers, having won 14 races from 36 runners, a winner-to-runner ratio of 38.9 per cent.

At Bangor today I expect the Lockinge-based handler to improve her already fine record by landing a triple with Flemish Fudge (1.15), Golden Celtic (1.45) and What's Your Problem (2.45).

Flemish Fudge, who is my selection to win the Road Range Handicap Chase, is a half-brother to both Rubric and Kildemo. Without being remotely in the same class as his illustrious relatives, he is still capable of winning a race of this nature as he showed when scoring over today's course and distance early this month.

On that occasion he ran on really strongly to account for Junior Parker, who had already had a run, and I expect him to prove too strong this time for Pire Hill and Green Archer.

Following an impressive chasing debut at Uttoxeter where he beat Hilariot, a

winner twice since, by 15 lengths, Golden Celtic is now mapped to win the Robert Smith Group Novices' Chase.

Barkin and Sir Noddy, both

pretty useful in point-to-

posts last season, would

appear to form the nucleus of his opposition today.

While Sir Noddy has al- ready run well behind Farmlea Boy and Springfield at Hereford this autumn, Barkin will be having his first race for Gordon Richards whose brief, like that of Knight, is currently on a crest.

But I still much prefer Golden Celtic, who also had some pretty decent form over hurdles.

Knight entered What's Your Problem for two races at Windsor this afternoon. The fact that she eventually decided to run her brother-in-law Lord Vestey's promising seven-year-old in the Marchioness Novices' Handicap Chase instead speaks for itself.

Last time out, What's Your Problem turned a similar race at Fontwell into a procession, having looked unlucky not to win at Uttoxeter the time before.

At Windsor, I will be hoping to see Granvillewaterford, Simon Sherwood's promising recruit from Ireland, win the River Thames Novices' Hurdle on his English debut.

LEICESTER

Selections

By Mandarin

1.00 Solo Corner.	2.30 Remittance Man.
1.30 Stranger Still.	3.00 Aldino.
2.00 Taranix.	3.30 Smith's Cracker.

Michael Seely's selection: 1.00 Solo Corner.

Going: good (chase course); soft (hurdles)

1.0 STOUGHTON NOVICES HURDLE (Div: £1,360; 2m) (14 runners)	
1 ALL GOLD BOY 5 (F) (Doddie) G Bright 6-10-10	G McCourt
2 92 ALLEGRA 221 (Mrs E Chinnery) Mrs J Pitman 6-10-10	M Phillips
3 UNKNOWN 200 (Mrs E Chinnery) Mrs J Pitman 6-10-10	M Phillips
4 6 CRACKERMACKIE GEE 214 (Mrs J Gibb) S McLean 5-10-10	M Phillips
5 FORTUNES WOOD (Mrs C Morton) T Thomas 4-10-10	S Phillips
6 MANDY'S TINO 50 (Mrs J Woods) H Morris 5-10-10	J A Herde
7 SHADOW DRAG 6 (Conway) R Dicken 5-10-10	R Donnelly
8 BTW COAST 276 (D.J.W.) (Mrs J Downey) Jimmy Fitzgerald 5-10-10	R Dwyer
9 6 SOUTHERN CROSS 200 (Mrs J Woods) H Morris 5-10-10	R Dwyer
10 30/06 THE ARTFUL MASICAL 50 (Mrs J Woods) H Morris 5-10-10	R Dwyer
11 6 WHY EVER NOT 19 (C Van Straaten) C Brooks 6-10-10	B de Haan
12 CHINCHILLA'S HURST (Mrs P) Mrs P Bright 6-10-10	A Carroll
13 FUNNY LANE (O Robins) O' Neill 6-10-10	V Stobart (7)
14 6 PEARLY DREAM 637 (J Fowler) R Lee 5-10-10	W McFarland
15 BETTING: 2-1 Taranix 100; 3-2 Aldino; 4-1 Solo Corner; 5-1 Why Ever Not; 6-1 The Artful Masical; 8-1 Pearly Dream; 10-1 Mandy's Tino; 12-1 Alzamora; 13-1 Solo Corner.	
16 1989 COGETT 21 (D.J.W.) J Quinn 6-10-10	

1.00 Solo Corner, 1.30 Stranger Still, 2.00 Taranix.

Arsenal's handsome home victory fails to excite a Highbury crowd which sees individuals sacrificed for the team concept

Functionalism without flair

CLIVE WHITE

NOT even Arsenal's most extravagant display of the season, it seemed, could hoodwink their supporters into believing that the penalty awarded against them at Lancaster Gate last week was what will cost them this season's championship.

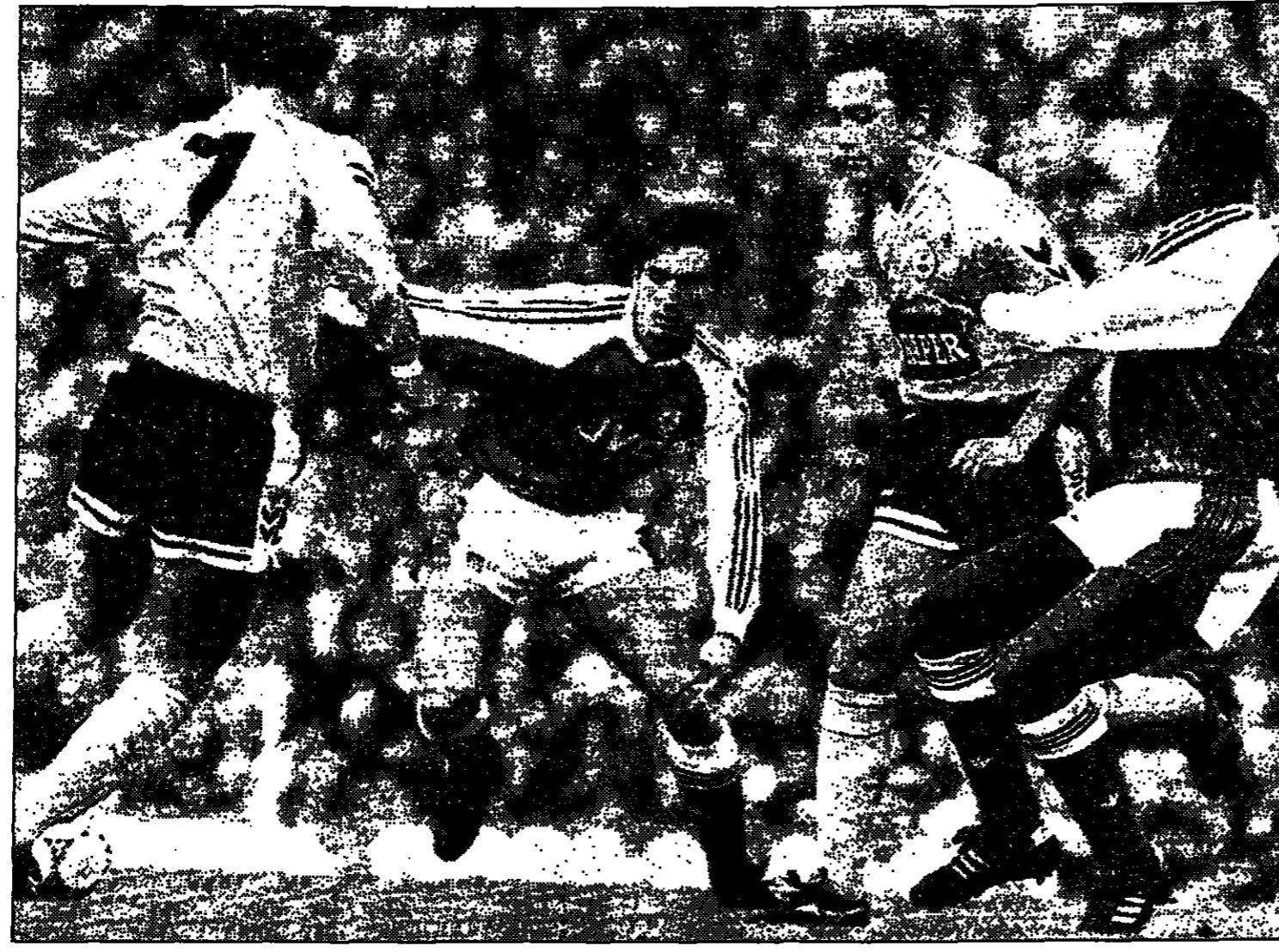
All but the most blinkered recognise that the race had already been as good as lost to Liverpool on the pitch and, consequently, even when beating Southampton 4-0 with some style on Saturday, Arsenal found it hard to appease the Highbury crowd. In his determination to emulate the team-play of Liverpool, whose marginal victory at Highfield Road must have dealt another damaging blow to Arsenal's morale, George Graham has some-where along the way overlooked the needs of individualism. The Arsenal manager has produced a team that is often about as clinical and as stimulating as a dentist's waiting-room. In the continued absence of David Rocastle, still struggling to regain his peak of two seasons ago, only Anders Limpar is capable of setting the pulses racing.

It was an indictment of the appeal of Arsenal's power-play that this observer found himself savouring isolated moments of Matthew Le Tissier's ball skills, which were laid to waste by a dreadfully inept Southampton side. Arsenal would have been hard put.

Graham makes no attempt to defend the means by which he intends to recapture the success of two seasons ago. "To change things you've got to go back to basics, be down and hard to beat, which I think we are away from home. I'll change the tactics when it suits me, sometimes maybe not to everybody's pleasure, but I'll do what's necessary to be successful," he said.

It is not, however, just a matter of being successful, but of being more successful than Liverpool. Arsenal cannot compare with Liverpool's individualism though their team-play on Saturday may have even surpassed that of the champions, notably when scoring the third and fourth goals. Individualism, in a team framework, as personified by Liverpool, is something which, for the moment, Arsenal can only aspire to.

While Graham stressed that he was disappointed that Arsenal did not score more, which was not unduly greedy, given the standard of the opposition's defending, one



No way out: With Smith (centre) and Thomas (right) barring his way, Le Tissier needs more support than Horne's to keep the ball

sensed that it took as much pride if not more out of registering their seventh consecutive clean sheet in the League. "I think our defence is probably one of the best in the country, if not the best. I certainly think we have the best goalkeeper in Seaman. He has such presence," Graham said. Certainly Seaman's handling qualities were never tested on Saturday.

One had to admire Arsenal's attitude after the FA's decision to dock two points for their part in the over-publicised Old Trafford fracas left them staring at a 10-point deficit. It cannot have been easy to muster the ambition even if Peter Hill-Wood, their chairman, stressed that this was "no time to give up the chase."

With little help from the crowd of

36,243, Arsenal lifted their spirits with a goal after 19 minutes when Groves and Merson swapped positions to telling effect. Graham said that it unsettled the centre backs, though it was Mickey Adams, the left back, who was hopelessly wrong-footed by Groves, allowing the Arsenal player to cut inside him and cross for Merson to score easily.

In a team consisting largely of automatons, Limpar offers the kind of irrational behaviour which the Arsenal supporters have yearned for ever since Charlie Nicholas's departure.

Selfishness being a necessary evil in all good finishers, Limpar had long since been forgiven for shooting instead of passing when four minutes later, in the 31st minute, he ran through unchallenged to score a fine goal,

borne out of Davis's perception and his own initiative.

Southampton were completely overrun. Rarely has Case looked less combative or perplexed by the speed with which he and the rest of his midfield were rapidly closed down. Southampton were reduced to lumping the ball forwards to Shearer and Rideout, the one-time physically precocious schoolboy international, who now found himself dwarfed by Tony Adams and Boyd.

How, conversely, Arsenal's Smith prospered in the serial game. Without a League goal to his name since being awarded, a trifling generously, one at Wimbledon on the opening day of the season, Smith struck twice either side of the interval, punctuating two sweetly co-ordinated movements each invol-

ving four players.

Southampton were in such rapid retreat that they forgot to mark Smith as he firmly headed home Groves's cross in the 36th minute. Having reacquired "the knack", Smith was not about to let go of it again, as he instinctively stuck out a foot in the 58th minute at the conclusion of a move which owed everything to a surprise reverse pass by Limpar. Arsenal had at least made inroads in to Liverpool's superior goal aggregate, though unlike two seasons ago, one goal that will not be a factor this time.

ARSENAL: D Seaman; L Dixon (sub: D O'Leary), N Winterburn, S Thomas, S Merson; A Adams, P Groves, P Merson; T Smith, P Adams, P McManus, A Limpar, J Campbell, P Horne, R Vassell (sub: G Cockburn); P Houghton, R Vassell (sub: G Cockburn). Referee: R Gilkison.

Southampton: T Power, J Dodd, M Adams, J Case, N Ruddock, K Moore, M Laister, P Williams, A Barton (sub: G Cookson); P Houghton, R Vassell (sub: G Cookson). Referee: K Redman.

Butcher's charade heralds ordeal of mixed fortunes

By PETER BALL

Coventry City 0
Liverpool 1

TERRY Butcher, the new player-manager of Coventry, was apparently still contemplating whether or not to play his first senior game for six weeks with Liverpool the opposition. "If I play it could have all the makings of a disaster," he said.

He played, as no one knowing his marital character and record would expect from the front could ever have doubted. He hit the post during a whirlwind start, was a constant threat alongside Regis, to Liverpool's security.

Butcher did not allow his disappointment at the result to hide his pleasure at the performance. "There's a lot to reflect on, a lot to build on," he said.

"It's a new challenge for the players, they've got to impress me. They did today, I was very pleased with them."

Against any other side, it would probably have been enough to guarantee a winning start for their new boss. But Liverpool are not any team, and facing them for the first time in four years Butcher could be forgiven a sense of déjà vu as McMahon and Whelan, gradually won the midfield at the cost of a booking apiece.

That laid the basis, but with Barnes missing and, until his goal, Beardside having one of those days when the clever flicks and twists fail to work, they did not create their usual quota of chances.

COVENTRY CITY: S Ozturk, B Barnes, P. J. Johnson, P. McGrath, M. Glynn, C. Reilly, D Speedie (sub: D Smith), K. Calisher. LIVERPOOL: B Grobbelaar, G. Hyam, D. Wilson, S. Whelan, D. Barnes, P. Barnes, P. Beardside, R. Houghton, I. Rush, G. Abrahams, S. McMahon. Referee: K Redman.

Quiet words draw best from Slaven

LOUISE TAYLOR reviews
the second division

A WEEK after stomping out of Ayresome Park at half-time, sulking over being substituted, Bernie Slaven played a leading part in Middlesbrough's 3-0 win at Portsmouth on Saturday.

Seven days previously Slaven's penance had prompted him to go home rather than watch the Teessiders lose to Charlton Athletic. Many managers would have met such subversion with a fine, but not Colin Todd.

Instead he called the forward into his office for a chat concluded over a couple of cans of lager. This "softly softly" approach paid off nine minutes before half-time when Slaven's tenth goal of the season gave Middlesbrough the lead.

Hendrie crossed from the right, Gooley parried Baird's far-post header and Slaven's almost telepathic instinct for the main chance left him in the right place to strike.

During six months as a Portsmouth player Baird had failed to score, a fact acknowledged by many seen from the terraces. The forward enjoyed the last tango, however, securing Middlesbrough's second with a 20-yard curler which went in off a post. Gary Stevens diverted

Hendrie's low centre into the net for the third.

It was Middlesbrough's fifth away win and left them fourth in the table, a position in no way undeserved. Their passing is a delight although a tendency to over-elaborate could have proved counter-productive against a defence less leaky than Portsmouth.

But Todd's chief problems are logistical. The presence of Hendrie means he is unable to accommodate Ripley, another dynamic right-winger, while the admission of Musto is depriving Proctor of a place in the midfield and the central defensive partnership of Mowbray and Kernaghan has restricted the elegant Coleman to spectating.

Jim Smith could do with similar riches. His Newcastle United team did no better than draw 0-0 at home to Barnsley, a result which not only left United nineteenth, but precipitated rumours that Bryan Robson is poised to succeed Smith at St James's Park. Given the fashion for player-managers, the gossip may have too much substance for Smith's liking.

PORTSMOUTH: A. Gooley; S. Gale, J. Hendrie, M. Barnes, G. Barnes (sub: J. Cowan), P. Barnes, C. Gooley, K. Black (sub: S. Murray), G. Whittingham. MIDDLESBROUGH: S. Fahey; C. Cooper, J. Proctor, S. Mowbray, G. Kernaghan, P. Ripley, B. Slaven, R. Musto (sub: M. Proctor), P. Ken (sub: S. Ripley). Referee: M. Bodenham.

Hearts rattle leaders

DUNDEE United's lead in the premier division was threatened on Saturday by the visit of Heart of Midlothian, who opened the scoring through Craig Leven in the first half (Rugby Forsyth writes). United had to rely on a penalty converted by Jackson to draw

that was sufficient to maintain United's one-point margin over Aberdeen, who merely drew at home with St Johnstone. Rangers closed the

gap with the leaders with a 4-2 victory over Motherwell at Fir Park. Walters, Johnston and Stevens (twice) scored for Rangers, Cooper and Bryce for Motherwell.

Celtic had a busy afternoon at home to St Mirren. Bailey, Miller and Creaney took them to 3-0 before McDonald scored for the visitors. Coyne restored Celtic's advantage. St Mirren's newly signed Spanish defender, Victor, was cautioned for a tackle on Nicholas.

Barnes... destiny of dreams

WEEKEND RESULTS, GOALSCORERS AND TABLES

FA Cup

First round: 1 GILLINGHAM (0) 1 CROWN (0) 1

2 MANCHESTER UNITED (0) 2 SHEFFIELD Wednesday (0) 1

3 ALDERSHOT (0) 2 NEWPORT COUNTY (0) 1

4 SOUTHAMPTON (0) 1 LEEDS UNITED (0) 1

5 STAFFORD (0) 2 BURNLEY (0) 1

6 ATHLETIC (0) 1 FLEETWOOD (0) 1

7 WALSALL (0) 1 BIRMINGHAM (0) 1

8 BARNSFORD (0) 2 NEWCASTLE UNITED (0) 1

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Stung Heseltine hits back at Thatcher's Labour tag



Time for change? Mr Heseltine arriving at the Houses of Parliament yesterday as the countdown began

MICHAEL Heseltine said yesterday that he had begun the contest against Mrs Thatcher assured of more than 100 votes, that the figure had increased "significantly" since then and that it was still increasing.

He declared that any Tory MPs who wanted to see a change in leadership, whether they wanted Douglas Hurd, John Major, Chris Patten, Geoffrey Howe, Norman Tebbit or himself to be leader, had to vote for him in today's first round. He claimed, too, that the opinion poll evidence showed overwhelmingly that he had the best chance of leading the party to victory at the next election, so preserving the achievements of the Conservative governments of the 1980s.

Clearly stung by Mrs Thatcher's attack suggesting that he favoured Labour policies and would jeopardise all that she has stood for, Mr Heseltine said yesterday that the Tories who set out to change Britain's attitudes in the 1980s had been a team.

"Mrs Thatcher led the team, but the support she got and many of the ideas she developed were not hers alone. We were wholly committed to what was happening. I hope nobody questions that I was at the forefront of that process." He had, he said, been responsible, with council houses, for the biggest privatisation of all.

"We were elected on a manifesto that promised to manage the state more effectively. It fell to me to sell council houses. The consequences in terms of cash flow opened up a new

horizon and directly from that followed the search for options about dismantling the state rather than managing it more effectively. I yield to no one in my pride that it fell to me to steer that revolution through."

"At the same time I was involved in the first legislation to extend contracting out to local government services. My idea led to the Audit Commission I closed down over 60, above 50 per cent, of the quangos in my department. I reduced by 13,000 over four years the number of civil servants working at the Department of the Environment.

"The pressures I brought to bear on local government in a bruising contest often against Conservative authorities, saw manpower levels reduced to those at the time of reorganisation a decade earlier. I brought the private sector in the pursuit of profit in to the inner cities.

"I established the urban development corporations which are now the jewel in the crown of the government's urban programme, and I subjected defence industries to the most intensive competition which they had ever experienced. I did this in the teeth of bureaucratic resistance."

Mr Heseltine said there had been many reforms by other colleagues also presided over by Mrs Thatcher, and he had paid tribute to her role. "But I can't help remember that nobody ever criticised me for what I was doing while I was doing it. Indeed, they kept promoting me and entrusted me with more powers to carry on the revolution. Now I want to be sure it

Michael Heseltine tells Robin Oakley, Political Editor, that his support is increasing and denies argument that he espouses Labour policies

goes into the 1990s. The evidence is overwhelming that I am most likely to protect the Conservative ability to achieve that and win the election."

What, then, did he think of the state of mind of a prime minister who, having employed him as one of her cabinet now called him a socialist? Mr Heseltine chose to answer that with the implication that if anyone was being hotheaded in this context it was not the challenger.

"I said from the very beginning that it would be important to remain ice cool in these stretching last days. I will only address the issues. If anyone can point to something which I did which could be described as socialist I will answer that point.

"I have visited the overwhelming majority of constituencies at the invitation of many members of the government and back-bench colleagues. The last thing any of them ever said when inviting me to address their activists or to appear at by-elections on behalf of my party was, 'Michael, we think really you're a socialist, that's why we want you to come and speak on behalf of the

Conservative party'." What, then, was the essential difference between the partnership with industry which he promised and that on offer from Labour?

"The essence of Labour's approach is that their partnership is with the trade union movement, their financiers. They are in hock to the bureaucracies of organised labour, to people who claim to represent working people, not working people themselves.

"The Labour party believe in raising taxes in order to do through the state what they thus deny people and companies the opportunity to do for themselves.

If there has been a change in Labour's position it is in the recognition that they must use language that sounds like ours. But nobody seriously thinks they would pursue policies that look like ours."

Mr Heseltine said that the Conservatives had won the intellectual debate. He added: "I was put up to lead the onslaught on Labour in 1979 and 1983. To confuse the way in which I dismantled the state and introduced competition and individual opportunity at every stage with the sort of sticky fingered, centrist bungling that would be the inevitable consequence of a Labour government requires an intellectual contortionist of no mean proportions."

Was he disturbed by the letter from 15 leading business figures in yesterday's *Times* which had called his challenge "a grave diversion that should be defeated as soon as possible"? Mr Heseltine: "There is a familiarity about some of the names. I might be

unwise to allow myself to be provoked further." He added that the letter had come as no surprise because he had received phone calls at the weekend from businessmen "appalled that such a letter should be written".

Defending his challenge, he said that Sir Geoffrey Howe's resignation had revealed a division that could be healed only by a challenge that he, not a stalking horse, was the appropriate person to make. Since he returned from a visit to Germany, "the amount of support from colleagues has increased significantly and still is increasing".

Mr Heseltine said of the weekend polls that "the public at large... take the view that I am more likely now to protect the achievements of the 1980s to win the election and to allow the reform of Britain in to an effective competitive economy to continue into the 1990s."

If that was so, why was there so much talk of finding a "stop Heseltine" candidate? "People are bound to say the issue is not about the choice in this round but that there is some subsequent round. That is entirely a matter for my colleagues."

Was he confident of victory? Mr Heseltine would not be drawn, but said: "We started with over 100. The figure has increased significantly since then and is still increasing. But my colleagues are a very sophisticated electorate. They would neither admire nor welcome Liberal party by-election tactics of polls and rumours and speculation designed to create an impression that it is impossible to quantify."

Business as usual for prime minister as she awaits the verdict

By RICHARD FORD, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

AS VOTING opens for the leadership at 11am in committee room 12 at the House of Commons today, the prime minister will be at the third plenary session of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Paris. She will vote by proxy.

Margaret Thatcher's parliamentary colleagues will decide her fate as, from 10am (9am British time) to 1pm, she listens to addresses from the leaders of Germany, Cyprus, San Marino and Liechtenstein. After a two-hour lunch break, she will return to the Cleber Centre for the fourth plenary session of the conference.

The conference will then move into a closed session, after which Mrs Thatcher will leave for the British embassy, where, at about 6.30pm British time, she will be told the outcome by Peter Morrison, her parliamentary private secretary, who will be informed in a telephone call from

London by the prime minister's campaign team.

Tomorrow, she hopes to meet President Gorbachev and attend the formal signing of the Convention on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Paris. She will return to London and plans to make a statement to the Commons tomorrow afternoon.

At about 6.30pm she will have her weekly audience with the Queen.

Michael Heseltine will leave his Belgrave home early today to vote and then spend most of the day at the Commons or at his office in Victoria Street. He is unlikely to attend prime minister's question time, to be taken, in Mrs Thatcher's absence, by John MacGregor, Leader of the House.

To win on the first ballot, a candidate must fulfil two conditions: an overall majority of the 372 Conservative MPs (or 187 votes) and a margin of 15 per cent (or 56 votes). Assuming all Conservative MPs vote for one or other of the candidates, Mrs Thatcher would need 214 votes to win a first-ballot victory. To be certain of forcing a second ballot, a challenger would need 159.

In the second round, nomina-

tions from the first round are void and others can enter the contest. Nominations close at noon on November 22, and voting is on November 27.

To win on the second ballot, a candidate needs at least 187 votes, an overall majority of those entitled to vote. If nobody wins, the three highest-placed candidates go to a third ballot on November 29, with MPs naming first and second preferences.

If there is no overall majority, the bottom candidate is eliminated and his or her supporters' second choices are distributed between the remaining two. The candidate with the overall majority is elected leader.

The table at right is a guide to the various results possible in the leadership contest. The top of the table shows the possible figures for candidate A, with 187 being the lowest winning figure and 214 a first-round victory with no abstentions. Down the side are the figures for candidate B.

Inside the square are the numbers of abstentions with a result above the staggered line meaning that the contest moves into a second ballot. Below the line means outright victory.

If candidate A gets 197 votes and candidate B 146, there would be a second ballot. Candidate A would have got a majority of those entitled to vote, but not an additional margin of 15 per cent (56 votes) of those entitled. Twenty-nine MPs would have abstained.

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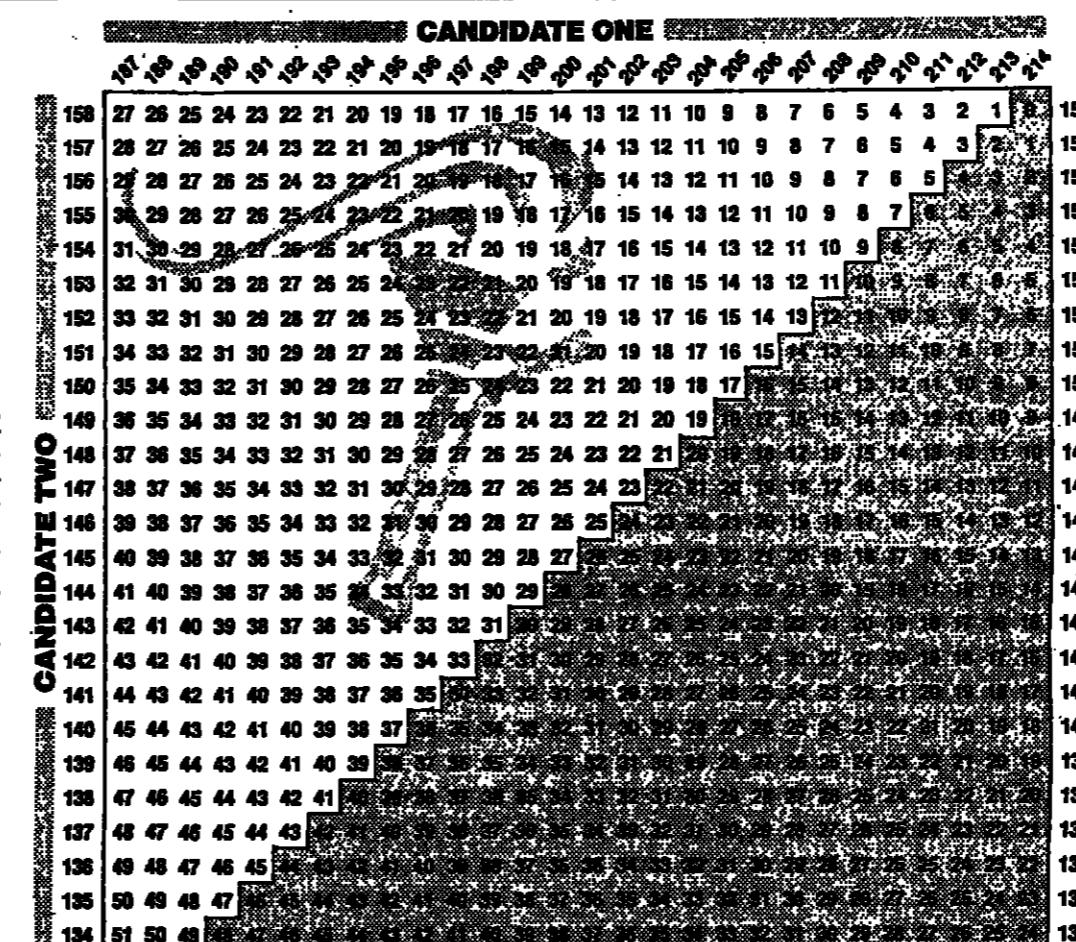
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Guide to the various results possible in the leadership contest

Advice from all sides bombsides Tories who will make decision

By DAVID YOUNG

BEFORE they drop their crucial voting slip into the ballot box today, Conservative MPs will have been bombarded with a plethora of advice, acquired both informally and formally, officially and unofficially.

Most spent the weekend listening to, but not necessarily heeding, the advice of just about everyone they met. There are soundings, however, which have under the election rules to be taken and passed on to MPs. The rules for the leadership election mean that each Conservative constituency association chairman is required to assess the views of members at local level on which candidate should be supported.

The constituency chairmen are required to pass on that information, verbally or in writing, to the 11 conservative regional chairmen, who in turn are required to pass on their assessment of the overall views of the party members to a meeting yesterday afternoon of the 1922 committee.

The 1922 committee was also required to hear the views of the Association of Conservative Peers and the chief whip in the Lords. After consulting his colleagues he was asked to report "great regret" at their decision that Mrs Thatcher should go. There was

some dispute within their ranks as to whether Mr Heseltine or Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, should succeed Mrs Thatcher. The views will have been passed on to Cranley Onslow, chairman of the 1922 committee, and would then have formed the basis for his report to last night's meeting of MPs.

■ Michael Heseltine will be backed for the leadership by most of the party's 32 MEPs, who are demanding "a more positive approach" to developments in the European Community (Sheila Gunn writes).

About eight MEPs support the prime minister if she changes her attitude to the EC, but the majority no longer believe that is possible and she should make way for a new leader.

Sir Christopher Prout, leader of the Tory Euro-MPs and MEP for Shropshire and Stafford, is understood to have told the executive of the 1922 committee yesterday that the group was divided six to one in favour of a new leader.

After consulting his colleagues

he was asked to report "great regret" at their decision that Mrs Thatcher should go. There was

no change in his view.

Sir Geoffrey Howe's speech confirmed in my mind that despite my huge admiration for the prime minister that was not going to be the case.

Unlike Mrs Thatcher, the Tory MEPs are firmly in favour of a single European currency. They believe, like Mr Heseltine, that it will not only bring economic advantages for Britain but will also enrich the economic and financial successes of the Thatcher administrations.

Anguish of MP's switch of loyalty

Emma Nicholson, Conservative MP for Devon West and Torridge, described yesterday why and how she reached the decision to vote for Michael Heseltine after 15 years of loyal support for Margaret Thatcher (Sheila Gunn writes).

Miss Nicholson, a former party vice-chairman who worked closely with the prime minister, said: "This is a very painful decision for me. But Michael Heseltine offers the only vision that the young can relate to.

"This was not a decision I felt able to make in isolation. I talked to my constituency as they have to live with the consequences of having voted me in. I would not pretend that everybody agreed with me. My constituency chairman wanted me to back Mrs Thatcher but my president is comfortable with my decision.

"The general feeling is that three-quarters believe it is time for a change. Even hard Thatcher supporters do not want her to stay to the next general election."

She said she had changed her mind slowly over the past year, prompted by the twin elements of Mrs Thatcher's inflexibility over the poll tax and the effect of the harsh business rate on her constituents.

"There is a logic and a reason behind the changes. But faced with the practice, I know we have to have a fresh mind leading us," she added.

Lords decision

Conservative peers have delivered a message to the 1922 committee favouring no change to the party leadership but pledging support to whoever wins. Lord Colnbrook, formerly Sir Humphrey Atkins, and Lord Denham, the government chief whip in the Lords, took soundings from regular attendees among the 450 peers taking the Conservative whip. They reported that the peers believe it would be wrong for them to lobby on behalf of either candidate.

Christopher Jackson, deputy leader of the Tory MEPs, said yesterday: "I had been hoping for a very long while that the prime minister would change the style of her approach to the European Community and I think Geoffrey Howe's speech confirmed in my mind that despite my huge admiration for the prime minister that was not going to be the case."

Unlike Mrs Thatcher, the Tory MEPs are firmly in favour of a single European currency. They believe, like Mr Heseltine, that it will not only bring economic advantages for Britain but will also enrich the economic and financial successes of the Thatcher administrations.

Kinnock's view

Der Spiegel, the German weekly news magazine, carries a long interview with Neil Kinnock, who says it makes no difference to him who wins the leadership contest.

"I see two removal vans. One for Mrs Thatcher and one for her successor. I really believe that Mrs Thatcher will go in a few weeks, one way or another. But whatever her successor is, we will win the next election." Mrs Thatcher personified an arrogant, simplistic and snobbish philosophy, he said.

A job anywhere

Mrs Thatcher could get a job anywhere in the world if she loses the Tory party leadership battle, according to John Gummer, the agriculture minister. He has told voters in his Suffolk Coastal constituency: "Outside this country nobody can understand the question of changing Mrs Thatcher as leader. All around the world there are people who would prefer to change their leaders for her."

Europe split on prospect of new opponent

From PETER GUILFORD IN BRUSSELS

MARGARET Thatcher has left such an impression on the European Community that those who run it are finding the possibility of her disappearance after today's vote hard to grasp.

A certain nostalgia is already creeping over those who are entertaining the idea seriously: Europe's fractious farm talks will simply never be the same without her.

"Most just can't believe she will go," one European Commission official said yesterday. "We would miss her. She has been a good enemy, as she would always rise to the bait." There is a grudging recognition among even the most

federal minded Euro-enthusiasts, whose views she abhors, that much of her criticism has been constructive.

Another remarked that Mrs Thatcher has forced the EC's institutions to accept their shortcomings and raise their standards accordingly. But she has frequently taken this too far, blocking moves which would themselves have improved efficiency.

She has undoubtedly made enemies in Brussels, and several commissioners would willingly see her go. Vassilis Papandreou, the Greek commissioner whose social charter was branded "marxist" by the prime minister, sees smoother negotiations on Europe ahead if Michael Heseltine assumes the leadership. She favours him as a "more moderate voice" than Mrs Thatcher, although Mr Heseltine hates the EC charter as vehemently as she does.

The Germans would soon be erecting new ones, particularly over a simple European currency.

So far Mr Heseltine's challenge has caused large ripples but few waves in the European press. Few European ministers